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EDITORIAL

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY commences its eighth year with a reorganized and greatly strengthened editorial council, its members representing a wide interest in the field of sociology and occupying positions of importance in various sections of the country. The change in name from that of "Contributing Editors" to "Editorial Council" is more than a difference in name; it indicates a revised status; namely, a real policy-determining board which shares, to a greater extent than before, THE JOURNAL's responsibility in the field of educational sociology.

This development gives increasing emphasis to two points of fundamental importance; first, the editors regard educational sociology as sociology and not as education and, second, they are convinced that sociologists have their major opportunity for research and should and will make their major contribution in the field of education. In the light of these two principles they are certain that, by associating this group of distinguished sociologists with THE JOURNAL in determining its policy and program, it will tend to stimulate the interest of those sociologists and perhaps sociologists in general in this field of increasing importance in our national life.

Unfortunately, the sociologist has made his contribution almost exclusively in other fields and has displayed little interest in education, leaving this most important field almost exclusively

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to the philosopher and psychologist. As a consequence the only approach to education, except that of the educational sociologists, has been made in the techniques of instruction and in the measurement of results of instruction with the emphasis upon the conventional curriculum. The major interest of the sociologist, however, is not in a conventional subject matter but in personality development and in social control. Personality development and social control, moreover, are affected most not by the school but by a variety of educational agencies which lie outside of the school in the larger social environment.

In order to construct and carry out a program of education consistent with social demands and needs, it is necessary to analyze accurately the comparative influence of the various factors influencing personality and social development and to coördinate these into a program of greatest social effectiveness. It remains, therefore, for the sociologist to become active in the scientific approach to education in this larger sense and to develop a program that takes into account the whole person and the total educational influence in his life.

THE JOURNAL has, from the beginning, devoted itself to this larger purpose but has been handicapped by the lack of interest and support of the sociologists. The new organization is seeking to accomplish what THE JOURNAL has sought to do from the first. Let us note, then, what the immediate program is to be. Commencing with the eighth year we have arranged the following series of special issues to cover the next two years:

- A Symposium on Educational Planning
- Some Educational Implications of the Tennessee Valley Association
- Sex Education
- The Curriculum Must Serve Society
- Education and the Family
- Readjustments in Business Education
- Problems of Educational Sociology as Seen by the Sociologists

Attitudes and Education

Sociology and the Elementary-School Program

Among those responsible for these special numbers are F. Stuart Chapin, Joseph K. Hart, Harvey W. Zorbaugh, Junius L. Meriam, Ernest R. Groves, Paul S. Lomax, Charles A. Ellwood, Ellsworth Faris, and M. C. Elmer.

We wish to take this opportunity to thank both readers and contributors for their support in the past and hope to offer them an even better JOURNAL in the future. E. G. P.

THE FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY¹

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The science of education as an applied science resting upon sociology still remains in a very unsatisfactory condition. In spite of the fact that the contribution which sociology should make to the science of education is cordially recognized at least in theory, most of the textbooks in education continue to be largely psychological and biological rather than sociological. Perhaps this is the fault of sociology itself; for sociology still remains in a very unsettled condition with many schools, and with each school warring against every other school. The scientific educationist, accordingly, when told that he should base his educational theory upon sociology may well ask, "Upon which sociology?" However, the divisions among sociologists are not greater than those among psychologists, and such divisions apparently do not deter the educational theorist from making use of whatever he thinks to be a true or sound psychology.

In part, therefore, we must explain the backwardness of educational theory in its sociological aspects by the point of view usually maintained in educational research. Undoubtedly, that point of view is, in the main, still individualistic. The point of view of group life, or of a group life-process as a background, is still rare enough in educational research. Most educationists apparently believe that such a concept is a fallacy. Moreover, a certain portion of educational research fails to distinguish with sufficient clarity human learning from the learning process in other animals. It is supposed that, if the learning process has been carefully studied by animal experimenters in a rat or an ape, a great light has been thrown upon the learning process

¹ Presented at the meeting of the American Sociological Society, December 1933.

among human beings. Those who take seriously the results of these animal experimenters forget that the animals below man have no social culture and that, therefore, the development and functioning of their minds is probably different from the social development and functioning of human beings. The claim that much light is thrown upon the learning process among human beings by the study of animal behavior, such as the behavior of the ape or the rat, must, therefore, be challenged. Such study fails to fix attention upon the distinctly human factors and capacities which differentiate man from the lower animals. Attention must be fixed upon these differential factors if we are ever to construct a human educational sociology. Our preliminary problem is, therefore, to isolate and define the factors in the learning process which are at once human and social.

In an article written in 1926, I wrote that "educational sociology not only starts with, but it deals with, the most vital and central aspects of general sociology . . . It is the very heart of general sociology, so far as the latter is a science of *human* society . . . Now, culture is the distinguishing mark of human society. It is what makes it human. We know of no human groups that do not possess language, tools, and institutions. These are culture, and their acquisition and use depends upon the educational process within the group. Human groups from the start have been human only because their behavior and life have been dominated by a social learning process. Intercommunication in human groups plays as large a part in regulating and standardizing behavior within the group as biological heredity or instinct plays in animal groups. The human social process is thus essentially educative from the start . . . So the learning process in its social aspect is the central problem of educational sociology, just as the learning process in its individual aspects is the central problem of educational psychology. It must be emphasized that the learning process has social aspects and that these have not been sufficiently

studied either by sociologists or educationists . . . There is a collective learning process as well as an individual learning process."

Again, in 1927, in my text on *Cultural Evolution*, I emphasized the fact that the development of culture proceeds through the learning process; that cultural evolution proceeds not through biological processes, but through collective learning processes, as shown by the growth of tradition, of language, of social institutions, and of all collective achievements. I pointed out that all of these show the same curve of development which the learning process in the individual describes.

I am sorry to report that no attention, so far as I can discover, has been paid to these statements of mine by educational sociologists, nor even by a majority of sociologists. Certainly they have not been made the basis for any research, either in the way of proof or disproof. Perhaps the reason for this is because these statements were too vague to set any very definite problem.

In 1931, however, an English psychologist and sociologist, Dr. G. Spiller, published a monumental work on *The Origin and Nature of Man* in which he introduced the new term "inter-learning" to account for man's social and cultural evolution, and hence a new basis for scientific sociology. He showed, I think for the first time, that the distinctively human social factor is inter-learning and that this factor provides a fully adequate explanation of the historical development of all human societies. It is the capacity of human beings to learn freely from the experiences of others, of their whole kind past and present, which enables their groups to develop civilization and to progress socially. This capacity to learn from others is, according to Spiller, the central fact of human social life. Dr. Spiller has no difficulty in showing that animals do not possess in any degree this ability to learn from others. He finds that all human beings, however, possess in about equal degree this ability. Since in

human groups the inter-learning factor permits the limitless pooling and the personal and collective utilization of the contributions of individuals, peoples, and generations, it follows that it is the basis of human social evolution not only in the past but in the future. Man is culture-dependent, and culture, through the limitlessly cumulative inter-learning factor, may be limitlessly progressive; for the inter-learning factor is limitlessly cumulative in its operation.

In a footnote, Dr. Spiller points out that even such a scientific educationist as Professor E. L. Thorndike in his work on *Human Learning*, published in the same year, 1931, makes no reference whatever to the factor of inter-learning—that is, to the factor without which no human being would ever rise above the animal level as regards knowledge, abilities, feelings, and character. Yet, Dr. Spiller adds, Professor Thorndike is our most eminent specialist on the science of education. He should also have said that Thorndike does not profess to be an educational sociologist.

Dr. Spiller points out that to call the differential factor in human society “cultural” does not profit us in the least, for we remain in complete ignorance as to its exact nature and mode of operation. But when once we see that man is not only culture-dependent, but that the culture of human groups develops through an inter-learning process, then we have something concrete to investigate. Not only human knowledge develops through the inter-learning process, but also human ability. Men may limitlessly learn facts from others, and while their inborn capacity may limit their ability to achieve, they also learn, as can be readily shown by concrete study, abilities of every sort—scientific, artistic, ethical, political, economic, and the like. Concrete abilities do not seem to be inborn, and Spiller argues that men are nearly equal in the capacity to learn freely from the experiences of others, if they are placed under the right conditions. Whether we accept this opinion or not, it remains true that

nearly all individual and social development comes from inter-learning or learning from others; and this fact, which has long been emphasized indirectly by sociologists, defines, as I see it, the fundamental research to be undertaken by educational sociologists. The question is, How far can inter-learning go? Through control of inter-learning, can we have any type of society which is humanly desirable? Is unsocialized behavior a result of an inter-learning process? Can the experience of the past be transmitted to the future? Can the wisdom of age be imparted to youth? Can the lessons of history when scientifically established be taught to coming generations? Can social intelligence resulting from scientific social research be diffused among the masses by the process of inter-learning? Or, can the great principles of human living-together, discovered in sociology, economics, and political science, be diffused throughout human society?

It ought even to be possible for educational sociologists to set up experiments that would throw light upon these questions. Our scientific educationists have claimed for a generation that we can learn thoroughly only "by doing." Dr. Spiller claims, however, that the great mass of human learning comes not from personal experience, but from learning from others. If I understand him rightly, he would say that the social process of communication is a process of education, or inter-learning, and that if it is carried on rightly, so as to awaken social imagination and social sympathy, human beings can learn from one another quite as well as from purely personal experience. He would substitute in education for the slogan "learn by doing" a new slogan "learn also by social imagination and social sympathy." The animal is limited in its learning to individual experience, but it is the privilege of man to learn from the experience of all of his kind and, as this process of learning from the experience of others is perfected, limitless vistas of human progress are opened up. Educationists have practically always used inter-learning as

the main method of education; but curiously enough at the same time they have either skeptically questioned its power or denounced it altogether as a method.

If experiments should show that social attitudes can be learned adequately from the experience of others through the training of social imagination and the development of social sympathy, which in turn create insight into and understanding of social conditions, then our whole system of educational theory would be revolutionized. For "learning by doing" would no longer be the central principle of education. Only the physical, animal-like reactions would need to be taught that way. Learning by social imagination and sympathy would become the higher principle recognized as basic in the higher social phases of human education. We should come to lay more stress upon training the imagination and the emotions than upon training the hand. This is, of course, not denying that in all the arts of life, in all culture, practice makes perfect. But we should see that practice in the higher, more complex social attitudes must come through the exercise of social imagination; that these must be learned from the experience of others by the process of inter-learning and the cultivation of imagination. Effective social and moral education would thus become no such enigma impossible of practical solution for the masses under a free government, as some educational theorists seem inclined to believe. The importance of social information as material for imagination and for character training would become manifest; for that organization of values which is the basis of personal character comes only through personal experience or through the exchange of experience. If the exchange of experience can go on effectively through the inter-learning process, then the problem of character training becomes easier of solution. It has often been said that experience is a dear school, but that fools can learn in no other. It may possibly, however, be demonstrated that the mass of mankind

has enough intelligence capacity to learn from the experience of others without having to pay the cost of learning through personal experience.

Let us take a few examples of problems which might be solved if inter-learning is an effective method of social education. How, for example, may public spirit be taught to the young in our schools? Many of our best political thinkers have told us that free government will not work without a high development of public spirit in the community. Defining public spirit in the largest way, we should say that it is an altruistic social attitude towards the various groups of which one is a member, beginning with the family and the local community and ending with the nation and humanity at large. In this larger sense, public spirit cannot be inculcated successfully in our young through mere personal experience nor through mere precepts and admonitions. It can only be taught the young by getting them to participate imaginatively in all the problems of their groups from the family to humanity at large. If, however, the inter-learning process can be made the effective means of exchanging experience, then so far as I can see, public spirit can, in principle, be taught in our public schools just as easily as typewriting. The only difference would be, so far as I can see, that typewriting can be taught more by manual practice, while public spirit must be taught through the development of an efficient social imagination. Of course, if the public spirit developed by an inter-learning process is to be the broadest possible, the main group to be considered is humanity at large. So far as I can see, all the other social virtues and social attitudes can be taught the same way. It is notorious that we have failed in teaching democracy in our public schools. This is probably not because our public schools have not been democratic enough in practice. It is rather because democracy is a complex social attitude which is not easily taught by practice. As President Masaryk has recently pointed out, the indispensable

basis of democracy is a feeling of fraternity. Only when there is such a feeling in a population do equality and liberty become possible of realization. Now the feeling of fraternity among many millions cannot possibly come through mere personal experience. It must come, if it comes at all, through the cultivation of social imagination and social sympathy. Of course, such training of social imagination and development of social sympathy cannot come about without a great change in our educational theory and in our educational practice.

Let us note in conclusion that, if individual learning and education are to take place chiefly through the process of inter-learning, then language and concepts must be restored to a place of supreme importance in education. Very recently sociology has discovered the need of carefully defined sociological concepts. Educational sociology has, of course, the same need. But, if education as a practical art depends upon language and concepts, then there is the utmost need of working out a series of carefully defined concepts which will convey with reasonable clearness the social values and social attitudes which should be effectively imparted in social education. I think that no one who understands human society can doubt that it is characterized by an inter-learning process. What may be doubted is: How effective this process is, what its limits are, and how it may be perfected. If we are to have an intelligently planned human society, it must come about through some process of inter-learning. Now we have so many conflicting social traditions and so many conflicting cultures in our society that the process of inter-learning has all sorts of grotesque and undesirable results. We must understand the process before we undertake its intelligent control. The plea of this paper is that the process of inter-learning should be recognized fully in educational theory and that its exact nature and mode of operation be made the chief object of educational research, more especially by educational sociologists.

SOCIOLOGY AND THE PRESENT SOCIAL ORDER

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Every succeeding generation brings with it changes which give it a distinctive place in history. The changes which occur, however, loom up and impress the people affected by them out of all proportion to their actual significance. It is most interesting to read the reaction of students of social problems. The interpreter of each generation, startled by the changes he sees, insists that his generation is passing through a period unparalleled in history. It is true that each generation has its own problems which, as far as they concern the persons involved, are of greatest significance. It is, however, essential that the results of the experience of the past should be evaluated and applied to existing social changes with the view to planning and directing the group towards the most effective and socially sound objective. This is the particular sphere of the sociologist. To steer between two dangers, the complacent satisfaction of what has been established and the emotional whirl of a program of reform that by its noise, its spraying vapors, and vigor prevents him from taking a long-time view of all factors in the situation.

There is a tendency for mild controversy to arise whenever we try to evaluate the work of sociologists of the past generation and those of today. To many the work done even twenty years ago seems so inadequate and so ineffective that its actual value at the time is apt to be overlooked. We are inclined to underestimate its fitness and effectiveness at the time it was presented. I have been along the Mississippi from near its source in the region of Lake Itasca, Minnesota, to its mouth below New Orleans. It varies from a clear, lake-fed stream dashing over rapids, and settling into broad pools under the shadow of tower-

ing pine trees, to the great volume of muddy water, moving quietly, slowly, irresistibly—moving a tree or an acre of land or a chip, without any difference of effort—just “old man ribber, moving along.” When I look back over the trend of social thinking it reminds me of the Mississippi. In its earlier stages there were types of methodology which fitted the needs and requirements of the situation. In the light of present-day development of the contributing aids from statistics, psychology, psychiatry, and social-work experience, the efforts of a generation ago appear crude and inadequate. They met the needs of those times, but they would be as inadequate today as the pile of stones that caused the upper Mississippi to become a dashing rapids would be to turn its course when it becomes a great volume of accumulated waters from a thousand streams.

In order to play his part in the present social order the sociologist does not play the part of a social reformer. He should be the social planner. A social reformer tends to see only one side of a question. He lacks the sense of humor which would come to the surface in the person who recognizes the fact that no social phenomenon is an end in itself. There are certain phenomena that tend to repeat themselves so frequently that we may expect their occurrence under certain conditions. Let me give an illustration. During the past two years we have had attempts made to secure detailed facts concerning the problem of the thousands of unattached youths wandering about the country. Social workers, sociologists, as well as the public generally, were astounded at the extent of the problem. Going back a few years a similar situation was reported from Germany. They were not called hobos but *Wandervögel*. After the war we were told Russia had large numbers of homeless youths. We find that data from England and from France concerning the first half of the nineteenth century shows that the peak of vagabondage was from sixteen to twenty-one years. I am inclined to accept this as a phenomenon

which is repeated and concerning which we can reasonably make plans. It is perhaps more thrilling to be a social reformer and, each time a variation in the general trend occurs, feel that we must begin to collect new data without making use of past experiences. Each generation likes to be re-astounded at the "discovery" of a situation that has been discovered before. There is perhaps a surplus of expounders who like to astound us by proclaiming, "Do you know there are 200,000 unattached teen-age boys roaming the country?" Having told this and thrilled us the reformer looks for the next astounding fact. The sociologist, on the other hand, works to control this recurring phenomenon.

If sociologists are to play any part in the present social order in assuming any intelligent responsibility in meeting the changes in our social structure, they must give more time to developing a system of thinking and dealing with human relationships in which consideration is given to all contributing factors. They cannot waste their force in ploughing a field, allowing it to grow up to weeds, and then repeat the process. In addition to getting the facts about the particular field, they must make use of the accumulated techniques and methods for handling similar situations and work them into a systematic, related procedure.

The extent to which this is being done is, in my opinion, the particular contribution of sociology to the present social order. There is great pressure brought to bear upon all of us to devote our energies towards some specific need. For instance, as members of a social group we try to eliminate prison methods that all of our accumulated knowledge demonstrates are highly unsatisfactory, but as sociologists we are interested primarily in understanding the elements in society that give rise to incarceration, to techniques and methods of social control which will tend to make prisons unnecessary. When you walk down the street and meet a hungry man, you provide for his immediate needs because of your appreciation of his unfortunate situation. As a sociologist,

however, you try to develop methods for determining why men are hungry, what factors tend to create such a situation, and how these factors may be controlled. In time the results of what has thus been observed become common knowledge. They become blended into the general structure and will continue to be accepted until a new combination of situations arises which makes ineffective the procedure followed. However, even when the former procedure has become ineffective, a definite gain has been made. The techniques and methodology have been established for developing new controls.

We may be permitted to take the control of bacteria for an illustration comparable to what is occurring in the social order. It is within the memory of some of us when diphtheria was a dreaded scourge. The mortality rate was from 25 to 30 per cent. Then were developed the remarkable tests and controls. The Schick test and toxin-antitoxin reduced diphtheria to a mortality rate of only one tenth of one per cent. It seemed that we had finally conquered a dreaded enemy. However, the bacteria began to adjust their characteristics in order to meet the imposed conditions and a few years ago an epidemic of diphtheria occurred in Berlin which had a mortality of 28 per cent. A new type of bacteria has appeared that is not subdued by the old controls. Or take spinal meningitis. An immulin was developed that under the best tests indicated control of meningococcus of almost one hundred per cent proof. However, in Detroit, where the best controls had been developed, there was an outbreak in 1932 in which the mortality was 60 per cent. In short, forces held in check or forced into dormancy by various controls will adjust themselves to changing conditions and break forth in new virulent forms which do not succumb to the old controls. *The gain made, however, is the establishment of techniques for the development of new controls.* The scientists who are working to control these forms of life feel that they have made a definite gain,

a definite step forward, when they have found a way by which they may work out a new method of control.

Sociology makes its greatest contribution to the present social order, when it has not merely met the needs of the hour, but when it has worked out the methodology for understanding a social situation and when it provides with techniques for developing the means of social control.

This is perhaps best illustrated within the particular field of surveys and of statistical studies. In a previous article I wrote about some of the forerunners of modern sociology. In it was mentioned the work of individuals, beginning in the fifteenth century, who had made use of certain techniques and methodology that have not been improved upon to any great extent up to the present time. The conclusions and generalizations made had some value at that time because they were made in relation to current situations. The old generalizations have little value today, because conditioning phenomena have changed, and because the supporting evidence of other specific fields was not then available. Since the generalizations have little value today we sometimes overlook the methodology. On the other hand, often where the particular work has been forgotten or never heard of, the methods and techniques have been largely absorbed and blended into our methods of study and analysis. The methods and techniques developed in one period become the accepted working tools of later periods to such an extent that we are almost unconscious of their existence. There is a time when the use of a fork is a great innovation to a two-year-old girl; later she would probably be surprised if some one called her attention to the fact that she was using a fork. For a period of time surveys were the prevailing type of social investigation. We were flooded with different types ranging from muckraking to Middletown. Have they lost their value? No. The survey technique, where it had value, was standardized, and has been so blended into our more highly specialized research technique that no one would

conceive of making a study without using it. On the other hand, if his attention were called to the fact, he would be as much surprised as a young lady would be if told that she was using a fork.

Two decades ago students of sociology had a rather definite set of procedures, social norms, and techniques for studying particular groups of people. They had, to a reasonable degree of reliability, bases for understanding the activities and recording the reactions of particular groups. For instance, the sociologist studying rural groups, presumably with considerable accuracy, was able to evaluate rural group life on the basis of accepted norms. He was able to make comparisons and determine changes in the activities, the practices, and general attitude of different communities. Today, the old norms are no longer of much value. Changes in the organization of rural life—the types and activities of rural schools, the rural church, the crossroads store, and the contact in education, religion, trade, and communication with the outside world—have so changed rural life, that if the sociologist attempted to understand rural society on the basis of the methods fairly reliable twenty years ago, his results would be as unreliable as a toxin-antitoxin that checked diphtheria five years ago, but that has been made obsolete by the changes in reaction of bacteria to it today. There are many phases of life in which the rural population can no longer be differentiated from the urban population. Conditions of life have changed. Both groups read the same newspaper, listen to the same radio program, see the same theatrical productions, attend the same church. The analysis of the social anatomy of a rural community of twenty years ago was adequate and satisfactory. The analysis of the same community today must be done on an entirely new basis.¹

When I was a small boy in southern Wisconsin, there was an old country church near my home. In the yard surrounding the

¹ C. J. Galpin, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," *University of Wisconsin Research Bulletin* No. 34, May 1915.

Robert A. Polson, "Social Changes in Walworth County, Wisconsin," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, 1930, pp. 139-142.

church, there was a platform made of heavy oak planks. It was no longer used. Formerly it had met a need which is now being met by other agencies. Preceding and during the Civil War, and for a short time thereafter, it was a vehicle of communication in that valley. Each Sunday morning after the services in that little German evangelical church, the preacher would come outside, stand on that platform, and read from the *New York Herald* to the assembly of Wisconsin farmers, lead miners, lumbermen, and their families. I have recently secured the names of these preachers, Shook, Hammeter, and Musseuger. In the latter '60's Leonard Buehler stopped reading the *Herald* and extended his circuit riding. Today we turn on the radio and listen to Lowell Thomas. But the need for spreading the news is still with us. Certain techniques still hold and only need to be adjusted to changes in rather secondary factors.

Because the sociologist is not a social reformer his work is more like that of the man working in the laboratory than that of the public-health official. Because of the accumulation of principles, methods, and techniques for understanding the social structure, the social processes, and social control, sociology should serve social reformers, the public official, leaders of public opinion; in fact, all persons who dominate our social order, in the same capacity as the balancing pole serves the tight-rope walker.

In a social order as closely interrelated as that of ours, there are critical situations continually arising which demand immediate attention. Individual sociologists may play an active part, but sociology as a method of approach must serve rather as the balancing apparatus, composed of the accumulated methods for understanding group relationships and with a plan based on this knowledge reaching ahead of any immediate crisis. Because sociology underlies all of our social problems, it must provide the ballast for a publicswayed by the whirlwind emanating from particular storm centers.

LEISURE-TIME GUIDANCE

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In the face of a short working day, the school is confronted with the serious responsibility of educating for leisure time. Such a responsibility cannot well be delayed until a child is about to terminate his education, but must be exercised early enough to habituate him in the worthy use of his leisure. This responsibility becomes more immediate in schools which draw from poor, underprivileged neighborhoods in which problems such as the following are the rule rather than the exception:

Broken homes

Congested homes

lack of recreational opportunities in the home

lack of place to entertain friends

lack of quiet places to study or work

Homes deficient in supervision of the child's

physical development and needs

avocational interests

friends

Homes deficient in leadership for

good sportsmanship

purpose in life

appreciation of beauty

character and personality development

experiences which give real joy

spiritual development

increased interests

Homes deficient in education

Brewer has said that teachers can help in "discovering the needs of individuals . . . suggesting to one pupil that he try other kinds of fun, showing another how to find out about birds, telling Tom about the Scouts . . . advising James on recreations

in electricity." ¹ This kind of educational guidance aims to satisfy some of the child's interests and needs and to increase his interests.

A plan for leisure-time guidance in the public schools has been evolved as a result of a three-year study in Junior High Schools 184 and 81, Manhattan. The plan has been cumulative and is still being constantly changed. It is not to be regarded as a model but rather as the beginning of a pattern which can be improved.

I. THE AIMS OF LEISURE-TIME GUIDANCE

The aims of this leisure-time guidance program are twofold.

1. To train the child for the worthy use of his leisure now and in the future when working days will be shorter
2. To meet individual interests and needs through friendly counseling and activities

While the school is interested in training the child for the worthy use of his leisure in the future when working days will be short, there are desirable results to be obtained for the present which will reflect directly in his classroom attitudes, manners, and effort. Recreational directors who have been visited have all agreed that a child's work or study habits are known to improve through a rich recreational life.

Experience in leisure-time guidance shows that individual interests and needs are best met by the establishment of a friendly relationship between the child and the teacher. The very fact that some one is interested in the things he likes and in his well-being arouses a sense of satisfaction within the child and makes him receptive to further guidance. Such guidance might be for better health, more wholesome thoughts, appreciations, creative thinking, inspirations, more friends, or self-expression.

II. A SURVEY OF THE COMMUNITY FOR ACTIVITIES AND FACILITIES FOR DIVERSIFIED RECREATION

The extent of the community to be surveyed for recreational activities and facilities depends upon how far the pupils will

¹ John M. Brewer, *Education as Guidance* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), p. 400.

travel for recreation. In very poor neighborhoods the pupils do not have the carfare to travel and must, therefore, attend centers within walking distance if they are to become members. However, it is necessary to know where the nearest facilities are located for certain given opportunities in order to offer an answer to particular needs which arise.

The following kinds of recreational centers have been found to be of most service to pupils:

- Settlement houses
- Boys Club of New York
- Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts
- The Y's
- Supervised playgrounds and gymnasiums
- New York Public Library Clubs: reading, crafts, sports
- Church clubs (supervised)
- Museums: art appreciation, sketching
- Supervised after-school clubs in the school buildings

Information which it is necessary to obtain when visiting such organizations has been found to be:

- Name and address
- Name of person in charge
- Name of person to whom pupils may be sent for membership
- Fees; possible group fee
- Kinds of activities
- Day and hour for applying for membership
- Aims of organization
- Degree to which the guidance spirit prevails
- Willingness and facilities for handling problem cases
- Degree of coöperation to be expected
- Race and religious preferences

III. A SURVEY OF THE GROUP OF PUPILS, FOR INTERESTS AND NEEDS

Because of the educational and vocational guidance counseling which starts in the 7B grade, it was found that 7A was the logical place to impart leisure-time guidance. Leisure-time guidance may serve as a means of acquainting pupils with guidance in the school or the interest which the school has in the individual pupil. This early contact between the pupil and the counselor

paves the way for later guidance when the pupil seriously considers his choice of a course, with the help of the counselor. The teacher, however, has a greater contact with the child in this program than the counselor.

The survey of such a group as the 7A seems to necessitate the following information in order that the teacher may be able to advise the child about his leisure-time activities.

- Age
- Race
- Birthplace
- Family conditions and home relationships
- Appealing school subjects
- Avocational interests
- Vocational plans
- Education planned for
- Work after school
- Private lessons after school
- Club membership in local organized centers
- Duration of membership
- Regulation of attendance in clubs
- Reasons for not attending regularly
- Activities desired of present club but not receiving
- Office held in the club
- Degree of acquaintance with the club leader
- Interest of the leader as felt by pupil
- Special needs:
 - friends
 - development of special talent
 - correction of certain personality traits
 - physical improvement
- Attitude of parents towards desired club

IV. SOME OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LEISURE-TIME GUIDANCE PROGRAM IN THE SCHOOL.

Some of the functions of leisure-time guidance might be regarded as the following:

1. Giving and receiving information, by the homeroom teacher

2. Counseling for club membership in an outside organization
3. Follow-up and recounseling

*1. Giving and Receiving Information,
by the Homeroom Teacher*

Although the first function is cared for largely by the homeroom teacher, it has been found helpful to have at least two consecutive assembly periods devoted entirely to speakers from outside recreational organizations. Two speakers for one period are sufficient. They may tell what activities are given in their organization, what the fees are, and about the many advantages in membership.

The week following the close of these talks, the homeroom teacher will find a listening group for a discussion lesson on leisure-time activities in the neighborhood. Such a discussion lesson, carefully worked out by the counselor, should by no means become a lecture. The homeroom teacher can add any information not covered by the class discussion, including the names of any organizations not discussed but appearing on a list attached to the discussion lesson. The school club periods offer opportunity for further reminders of local leisure-time opportunities which can carry on the school club interests.

It has been found better to obtain the personal information pertaining to each member of the class before giving the discussion lesson because of the need of knowing something about the background of the pupil when answering his questions. One way of getting information about the child is through the guidance card which the counselor should furnish. This card would serve as a more permanent record than a questionnaire on paper. As teachers learn facts about the interests, home background, family needs, home and personal problems affecting the pupils, and other information of value pertaining to the class, a brief note may be made upon the particular guidance cards.

2. Counseling for Club Membership in an Outside Organization

After a child has full information about the local recreational and leisure-time opportunities, and the teacher has a knowledge of the child's interests, special abilities, physical, mental, and emotional needs, and home status, the teacher is ready for the second function of counseling the child for club membership, ascertaining his choice, and offering suggestions of further help. The parent's consent is obtained on an application blank approved by the teacher. An effort is made to help a pupil raise a personality or character record before being referred to an outside club. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that pupils in general have the ability to raise such records very rapidly in order to merit a personal reference to an outside club. In cases where personality and character records fail to rise, pupils are sent after special arrangements have been made by the counselor who has enlisted the coöperation of organization leaders.

A number of safeguards have been found necessary, although they might not all be important in every school:

1. Club to be satisfactory to the pupil and to the parent
2. Location of the club to be suitable to the pupil
3. Advisability of sending at least two pupils together
4. Favorable weather when sending pupils to join
5. Certainty of room in the outside club; appointment with the director

3. Follow-up and Recounseling

The follow-up of pupils referred to outside organizations can be done a week or so later during the homeroom period. There will be cases necessitating a change of outside club because of various reasons.

V. COÖRDINATION WITH THE SCHOOL GUIDANCE PROGRAM

In addition to the homeroom teacher who is the main person in the leisure-time guidance program, there are others who can coöperate with the work through activities and inspiration. The

following persons are very helpful in the maintenance of a leisure-time guidance program.

1. Principal

His coöperation is essential for the growth of the leisure-time guidance program, and for any effort along guidance lines

2. Assistant principal

Assisting by arranging for definite homeroom periods to be devoted to the leisure-time program

3. Assembly teacher

Giving assembly period to this program and making announcements which promote the work

4. Art supervisor and teachers

Making of posters, illustrating local leisure-time activities

5. Counselor

Maintaining contacts with outside organizations with the teachers' aid

Arranging for assembly periods

Making out discussion lessons

Conferring with any special pupils sent by the teacher for advice and consideration

Checking applications for outside clubs

Referring pupils to the outside clubs by appointment with the directors of the organization

Reporting to the principal and getting his advice and approval on all the steps of the program

This work is not that of one person but of the entire school. Efforts along this line should be carried farther than educational procedures, as we have thought of them, into guidance or individual service. Much group guidance is possible and profitable in this work if discussions are largely individualized. The solution of one child's problem of leisure-time activities is frequently the solution of the problem of others in the group.

SOME OF THE RESULTS UP TO DATE

Some of the results of this program which encourage continued efforts are:

1. A basis for further educational and vocational guidance because of an awakening of interests

2. Increase of purposeful activities in the group
 - activities already familiar to the child
 - new activities in the life of the child
3. Satisfaction gained
 - friends
 - avocational development
 - self-realization
4. Improvement in the general morale of the group
 - an outlet for aims and desires expressed
 - increased interest between class and teacher because of a common interest
5. Increased interest in the school through clubs after school in the school building

The after-school clubs which are mentioned above have been organized in Junior High School 81, Manhattan, for various groups: 7A, 7B, 8th grade, and 9th grade, each group meeting once a week. At present there is a waiting list for each group club because only thirty pupils can be adequately accommodated. Such after-school clubs can be supervised by volunteers or leaders from outside recreational organizations.

FUTURE WORK NECESSARY TO BE DONE

BY CIVIC BODIES

1. Improvement of movies which have been found to have a decided influence on adolescent pupils' activities and wholesome development
2. Increase in
 - settlement houses
 - supervised playgrounds and clubs under trained workers
 - supervised activities in churches of all denominations, under trained leaders who can inspire high standards in youths
3. Utilization of school buildings for after-school leisure-time activities with close supervision by trained leaders

PERSONALITY AND ARTISTIC TALENT

EDWIN G. FLEMMING

There seems to be a feeling among people today that the changing economic order will bring in its wake increased leisure for the great mass of people. Committees are being organized to consider the problem of directing the use of that leisure to socially and individually progressive and cultural ends. There would seem to be an opportunity for those interested in art and the development of American artistic talent to direct the attention of the public and of educational institutions towards the possibilities of training in art appreciation and art techniques. For such a program the hope would be that such training and activity would lead to an indigenous American art and culture of a high order.

But for the development of a better American art and culture something more is needed than the mere acquisition of knowledge and skill in techniques or artistic production. Back of the techniques must be the personality of the artist. For art and artists to thrive, our milieu must provide sustenance and encouragement for the development of the artistic personality. An art commercially profitable is not necessarily fine art. Art of lasting merit will inevitably be the expression and embodiment of the personality of the artist and of the people.

There has been much loose discussion about the nature of artistic persons, almost every individual having his own opinion. The purpose of this study is to try to determine what traits and characteristics of personality are likely to be associated with artistic talent.

The subjects were eighty-four girls of the Horace Mann High School for girls, Teachers College, Columbia University.¹ They constituted the junior and senior classes. To determine who the

¹ It is necessary that I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Cecile White Flemming, director of the Division of Pupil Adjustment of the Horace Mann School, who

artistic girls were the teachers were given lists of forty-seven traits, including "talented in some field of art," and asked to check for each girl the traits or characteristics that could be attributed to each of them. The traits were:

Intelligent	Helpful
Sense of humor	Modest
Interesting in conversation	Dependable
Considerate of others	Unselfish
Talented in some field of art	Good judgment
"Good sport"	Witty
Beautiful or pretty	Individuality
Amusing	Competent
Frank	Idealistic
Understanding	Neat
Generous	Industrious
Sociable	Tolerant
Loyal	Entertaining
Sympathetic	Natural, unaffected
Good natured	Fair
Athletic	Well informed
Courteous	Adaptable
Sincere	Pleasant voice
Attractive personal appearance	Wide interests
Honest, truthful	Not easily excited
Clever	Smiling countenance
Lively	Tactful
Cultured	Original
	Temperamental

At least three teachers checked a list for each girl, while in a few cases six teachers gave ratings for a particular girl. The average number of lists checked per girl was 3.6. Since each check list was the reaction of a different person to an individual, gathered the data which made this study possible, and to express appreciation for the cooperation of the teachers and girls in the school who participated in this inquiry.

we might consider the traits checked on each list as representing a distinct personality. In that case there was a total of three hundred and three personalities analyzed. Thirty-three per cent of these personalities were talented in some field of art. While this may be considered a large percentage it must be remembered that the girls at the Horace Mann School are a highly selected group, being of distinctly superior intelligence and coming from families that have a superior cultural and economic background.

In addition, each girl indicated on a scale of ten the intensity of pleasant feeling that she associated subjectively with every other girl of her class. This gave me a measure of what may be termed the pleasingness of the personality of each girl. There was an average of over thirty-five ratings for each girl on this factor of pleasingness.

The teachers, also on a scale of ten, indicated the amount of personality that each girl possessed. For this measure there were not fewer than three ratings for each girl. The average rating was taken as the measure of personality.

For a measure of leadership we took into consideration the positions of leadership or responsibility actually held by the girls during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades in the Horace Mann High School for Girls. The senior year was not included because only about half of the subjects had completed the last year. Also, due to the fact that a number of girls had not been in attendance at the school for all three years, there were only seventy-one subjects considered for the study of relation to leadership. Various positions received various points of credit according to a schedule determined by the school authorities for the purpose of allocating credits to the girls for extraclass activities, and which are made a routine part of the school record.

The method of determining the degree of association between "talented in some field of art" and the other traits and characteristics was by means of the coefficient of contingency described

by H. E. Garrett.² A two by twofold table was used. In interpreting results it is necessary to bear in mind that for a two by twofold table the highest possible coefficient is .707, whereas theoretically perfect association should yield a coefficient of 1.00. It is probable, then, that the actual association is somewhat more definite than is indicated by the coefficients of contingency found.

The coefficient of contingency, C, between "talented in some field of art" and personality as rated by the teachers is .25. It appears then that there is a definite tendency for those with artistic talent to possess what is commonly called personality. Causal relationship is, of course, not necessarily indicated.

The coefficient of contingency with pleasing personality as rated by the girls is .14. The association here is not particularly high or significant, although if our prejudice runs in that direction we might have some basis for contending that those with some artistic talent are more likely to be pleasing to their contemporaries than otherwise.

The coefficient of contingency with leadership is .14. Here again the association is neither particularly high nor particularly significant. However, the talented in art are not necessarily devoid of leadership ability. On the other hand, we would not expect the talented in art to show any special aptitude to organize and lead their own artistic groups. Their leaders might or might not be also talented in some field of art.

Whether these results are applicable to boys as well as girls is at present anybody's guess. Since, however, all studies of sex differences show few or no important characteristics with respect to which there is a highly significant wide difference, we may assume, until there is evidence to the contrary, that the relationships found in this study are applicable approximately to both sexes.

Whether the results here obtained can be applied to the adult professional artist is another matter which involves even more

² *Statistics in Psychology and Education* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), pp. 195-201.

of a guess. If they are so applicable at all it will be because it is from the talented in the schools that the professional artists are chosen. How much or to what extent professional experience and maturity increase or decrease the tendencies here found must be left to further investigation.

TABLE I

Showing the Coefficients of Contingency Between "Talented in Some Field of Art" and Various Other Traits and Characteristics

	C		C
Idealistic . . . . .	.51	Temperamental . . . . .	.14
Original . . . . .	.41	Interesting in conversation . . . . .	.13
Wide interests . . . . .	.31	Understanding . . . . .	.13
Clever . . . . .	.30	Loyal . . . . .	.13
Cultured . . . . .	.29	Honest . . . . .	.13
Individuality . . . . .	.27	Lively . . . . .	.11
Well informed . . . . .	.24	Considerate of others . . . . .	.10
Entertaining . . . . .	.21	Smiling countenance . . . . .	.10
Intelligent . . . . .	.20	Courteous . . . . .	.07
"Good sport" . . . . .	.20	Unselfish . . . . .	.07
Pleasant voice . . . . .	.20	Helpful . . . . .	.06
Sense of humor . . . . .	.19	Tolerant . . . . .	.06
Amusing . . . . .	.19	Sincere . . . . .	.04
Generous . . . . .	.19	Natural, unaffected . . . . .	.04
Witty . . . . .	.19	Frank . . . . .	.03
Adaptable . . . . .	.19	Attractive personal appearance . . . . .	.03
Competent . . . . .	.18	Dependable . . . . .	.03
Fair . . . . .	.18	Athletic . . . . .	.02
Beautiful or pretty . . . . .	.16	Industrious . . . . .	.00
Sympathetic . . . . .	.16	Good-natured	-.02
Tactful . . . . .	.16	Modest	-.03
Good judgment . . . . .	.15	Neat	-.04
Sociable . . . . .	.14	Not easily excited	-.04

Table 1 shows the coefficients of contingency found between "talented in some field of art" and the other traits and characteristics indicated. Idealism seems to be the outstanding mark of artistic talent. Next come originality, wide interests, cleverness, culture, and individuality. Until the American milieu actively and overtly approves, sustains, encourages, and rewards these characteristics, there is not likely to develop in this country an

art of a particularly high order. The idealism of the young is soon turned to cynicism after only a little experience with what is called "real life" but is in reality merely the artificial world of competitive business. Originality is quickly reduced to mediocrity by our machinery for standardization. Those with wide interests are dilettante in a world where specialization is almost a fetish. Cleverness is rewarded in only one direction—legal chicanery and financial trickery. Culture of a sort we have, and the seeds of a great culture may yet be permitted to sprout and grow. Individuality is rampant in industrialism among the economically powerful, but stifled at the endless belt of quantity production.

While the masses of our people are not as well informed as they might be (and this might be said of many of our leaders as well), we do appreciate the entertaining (perhaps too much so) and the amusing. Although we are not famous for our pleasant voices, we do have a sense of humor, are "good sports" and generous. Intelligence is perhaps not as well rewarded as it deserves; and wit is almost nonexistent among the American people and in the American drawing room, our humor not yet having developed beyond the hardy pioneering stage of exaggeration and burlesque. We are adaptable and competent, but fairness cannot be said to be rampant, if the complaints heard in the business world are any criterion. Sympathetic we are outside of business hours and among our close friends, but certainly we are more noted for our directness and bluntness than for our tact. Our judgment, especially with respect to objects of art, is to say the least rather poor and too subject to the influences of ballyhoo.

The remaining characteristics are of little significance and need not detain us long. It is, however, interesting to note that the coefficient of contingency between "talented in some field of art" and temperamental is but .14. It is not significantly high

but still high enough to give a footing, although a precarious one, to the prejudiced opinion that "temperamentality" is an outstanding characteristic of the artist. It is also of interest to note that those with artistic talent are no more sincere than the general run. Whether lack of sincerity in one's artistic productions deprives them of some of their virtues is, naturally, another question. My own prejudice is that a meritorious work of art will be sincere at the moment of production whatever the artist's attitude may be before he begins his work or after it is completed. In activity of an artistic nature the artist must necessarily be sincere, otherwise his work will show inevitable flaws sensible to those with fine feeling. That the artist is no more and no less industrious than the average is likewise of some interest, since the opinion has often been expressed that the artist is generally lazy. The same comment applies to dependability, the coefficient of .03 indicating that the artist is just as dependable and no less so than the ordinary mortal.

The negative coefficients may attract some attention, but they are so low that they are hardly worth mentioning. Further studies of these traits, however—good-natured, modest, neat, and not easily excited—might show more definite trends among those who have become professional artists.

In conclusion, then, we may say that certain traits of personality are fairly definitely associated with talent in art, the most significant of which are idealism, originality, wide interests, cleverness, culture, and individuality. It is also probable that until the changing economic order puts its stamp of approval upon them in the form of general admiration and substantial reward, art in America will continue to have as hard a time in the new order as it has had in the "dog-eat-dog" era of economic individualism and capitalistic economy, notwithstanding the probable increase of leisure and earning capacity of the masses.

A TECHNIQUE FOR SCORING HONESTY IN CLASSROOM PERFORMANCE

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The employment of the college class as an experimental group is receiving increased attention by social scientists. While its use often presents the liability of a biased sample, it offers to the instructor a convenient and an inexpensive means of working out certain testing and research interests. Furthermore, the experimental methods employed may, if revealed later to the class, aid in developing a scientific caution which is learned as well by the art process as it is by avenues of memory and logic. The methods last mentioned often result in a ritualistic acceptance only.

The following experiment establishes a technique for scoring honesty¹ from a test which is simple in its administration and which creates for the occasion no new or unusual situation. In this respect, it possesses an advantage over many of the tests assembled by Hartshorne and May in their exhaustive presentation² of the material in this field. The experiment found its origin in an attempt to check certain cheating behavior. Because of the large size of the class and the reduced funds for grading service, the author had resorted to occasional "pop" quizzes of an objective nature. These short quizzes he dictated to the class after which each student corrected his own work from dictated answers. This method was justified by the instructor since the tests were employed more for the purpose of stimulating critical thought than they were for a basis of evaluating the students' work. The student, however, had every reason to regard these exercises as important.

¹ Honesty here is treated as a trait expressed in particular situations and not as any generalized behavior expression.

² *Studies in Deceit* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).

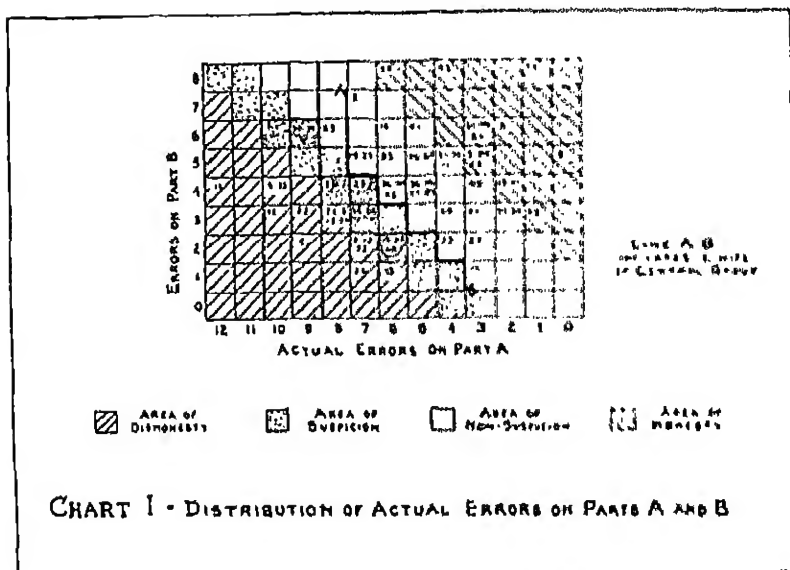
The quiz which is here discussed contains twenty-six statements. As on previous occasions the student recorded the arithmetical sign of plus or minus on the basis of the adequacy or inadequacy of the statement presented. Next, each student scored his own paper from dictated answers. This time, however, the author indicated the correct answer in but eleven cases and read the incorrect answer for the remaining fifteen statements. These false answers were well scattered throughout the test and the two parts were well balanced as to plus-and-minus answers. One week later the same twenty-six statements were again presented to the students as a portion of a larger test of one hundred items. This test in mimeograph form was graded by the instructor. This procedure gives the basis for the four tests of honesty which follow.

I

Assuming that the fifteen statements for which incorrect answers were dictated, hereafter known as Part A, are equal in difficulty to the eleven statements for which correct answers were given, hereafter known as Part B, then the actual errors of honest students on Part A should not vary greatly from the errors recorded on Part B. In contrast, the dishonest student, while decreasing the errors on Part B, would by the same token increase the actual number on Part A. The evidence presented suggests this to be the case. The author accepted as a control group of honest students those who credited themselves with thirteen or more errors. These are the students who, on the basis of their own calculation, gave themselves a score of zero or less. For the forty^a students located in this group but two evidence a difference of greater than four between their actual errors on Parts A and B, and but seven a difference of more than two. Ninety per cent registered a difference of three or less. This distribution of errors is plotted in Chart I with suggested areas of

^a Case number 63 located by itself on the edge of this area was under two later tests discovered to occupy an area of dishonesty. For this reason it was removed from the control group.

dishonesty, *suspicion*, *nonsuspicion*, and *honesty*⁴ indicated thereon. A variance of five or greater, namely, that which with two exceptions lies beyond the variation found in the control group, was accepted as suggesting questionable behavior on the part of the student. Fifteen were found to fall in this area of *dishonesty* with six additional bordering cases.⁵



The charts are so drawn that a normal variation of errors for the honest students on the two quizzes would fall along a line drawn from near the upper left-hand corner towards the lower right. This area has been designated the area of *nonsuspicion*. Those in the upper right-hand corner, though outside of a range

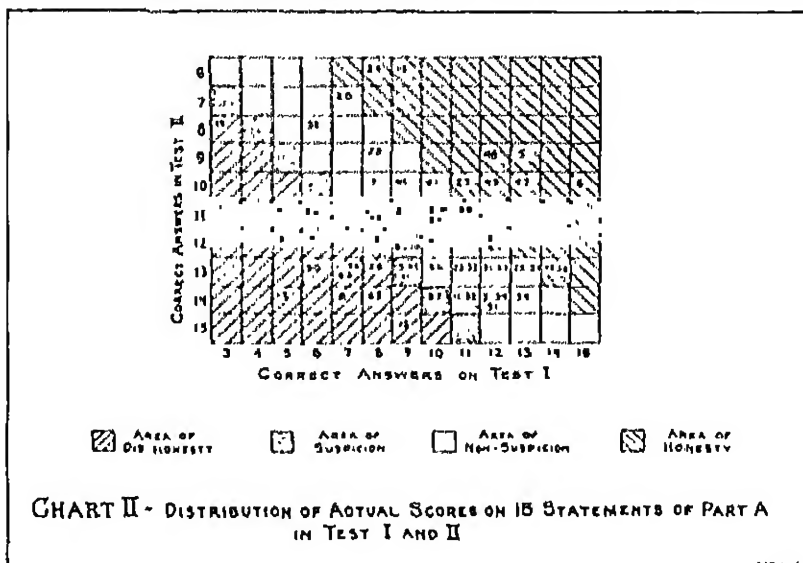
⁴ It must be understood that the cases located in areas of established *honesty* and *dishonesty* are not by this test proved to be honest or dishonest. Only a presumption of honesty or dishonesty can be established at this stage. Areas of *presumed honesty* and of *presumed dishonesty* would doubtless be more accurate designations.

⁵ The writer recognizes that these lines of demarcation are somewhat arbitrarily established, although in each case the limits of the control group are used to determine such location.

of normal variation, can be interpreted only in terms of honest behavior for the first quiz. The variation evidenced in the lower left-hand corner is one which suggests questionable activity and so has been designated the area of *dishonesty*. This schematic arrangement is uniform throughout the charts.

II

A second test for honesty is revealed in the comparison of the actual scores obtained on the fifteen statements of Part A in the two quizzes. Those students who were honest in the first quiz should evidence a consistency, while those who were dishonest



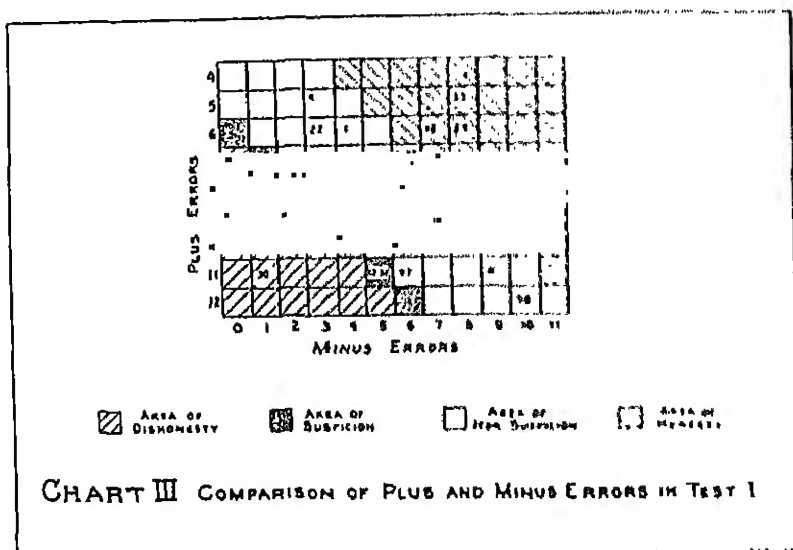
would be expected to evidence a marked variation on the two occasions.⁶ It is significant that of the forty control-group cases none record a variance of greater than four errors for the two quizzes. In thirty-seven cases the variation is three or less. Here again those cases lying beyond the limits of the control-group variation, and whose errors on the first quiz exceeded those of

⁶The author is aware of a question regarding the comparability of scores obtained one week from a dictated test and the next from a mimeographed test. There is evi-

the second by five or more, were designated as *dishonest*. Of the fourteen so included, all but one occupied a similar or bordering location in Chart I.

III

Since the changing of a minus sign to that of a plus doubtless offers an easier opportunity for cheating performance in this type of test than would the converting of plus to a minus, a check of



the proportion of minus to plus answers should prove revealing. The excess of plus errors over minus errors on the dictated quiz should prove much greater for those who changed the easily altered minus signs when the original answers were discovered to be wrong. None of the forty in the control group evidenced an excess of six plus errors over minus errors and most of this group registered a very low variation. In Chart III the author dence that the actual scores averaged somewhat higher on the second quiz, as would be anticipated on reviewed material. Since the performance of the control group helps to determine the areas, the comparison is in relatives, making less pronounced those biases which would present themselves if the comparison were by absolutes.

accepted a variation greater than six as suggestive of dishonest behavior. Of the eight cases falling within the *dishonesty* areas seven occupied a similar or contiguous area in Chart I and five were also in the area of *dishonesty* in Chart II. In cases 9 and 13 the recording of nine plus answers as wrong as against no minus answers can surely be regarded as no accidental variation. Both test III and test IV, which follow, measure only that dishonesty which is involved in the changing of minus to plus signs. Thus they will not indicate, as might tests I and II, those who engaged in other forms of cheating.

IV

Test IV supplements test III. It offers a comparison of the number of negative errors of the two quizzes. Here we would expect the honest students to be somewhat consistent and the dishonest to evidence a greater number of minus errors on the second quiz, which was corrected by the instructor. It is significant that but one of the control group registered an excess of minus errors for this quiz. The control group averaged five less of such errors than on the quiz which they themselves corrected. This makes more glaring the exception of those evidencing an excess of two or more negative errors as do the cases located in the area designated as *dishonest*. The six which fall into this group all occupied similar or contiguous areas in Charts I and III. It should be observed that cases 13, 30, and 42 which fell under suspicion in Chart III are perhaps exonerated here. The relative absence of minus errors by these individuals in both quizzes suggests a consistency which in this particular type of quiz might be characteristic of certain noncritical students, who being unable to test intelligently the adequacy of a plausible statement tend to accept it as correct. A personal knowledge of the three cases gives some basis for this view. This explanation, however, would not serve to explain their similar position in areas of *suspicion* or *dishonesty* in tests I and II.

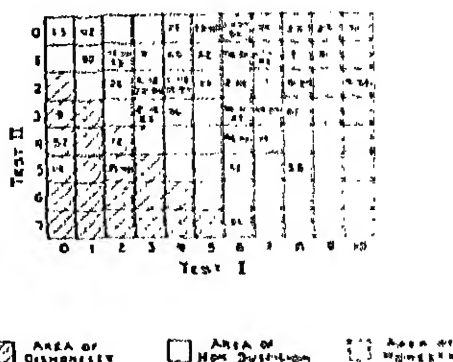


CHART IV MINUS ERRORS REPORTED IN TESTS I AND II

V

The following distribution sheds light on the degree of consistency evidenced in the location of cases in the several tests.

<i>Areas Represented</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>
HHHH	1
HHH-N	6
HH-NN	10
H-NNN	7
H-NN--S	1
NNNN	10
NNN-S	6
NN-SS	2
NNN---D	2
NN--S-D	4
NN---DD	5
N-SS---D	1
H-----S-DD	1
N-S-DD	5
N---DDD	2
DDDD	2

Of the twenty-seven students who evidenced *honesty* on one or more tests, but one ever fell in the area of *dishonesty*. This one was unusual in that it was listed once as *honest*, once under *suspicion*, and twice as *dishonest*. Of the remaining twenty-six students who were listed as *honest* on one or more tests only three had a single instance of *suspicion*, while twenty-three were at all times found in the areas of *honesty* or *nonsuspicion*.

Of the twenty-two students who had dishonesty listings, one, already described above, was found also in the honesty grouping. Sixteen of these were found in the dishonesty column two or more times, while eleven of the twenty-two registered suspicion. Although nineteen of this group fell into the area of nonsuspicion on one or more occasions, this may be partly accounted for by the large size of the nonsuspicion area⁷ in contrast to the suspicion area. Seventeen cases lay in the *suspicion* and *nonsuspicion* areas entirely outside the areas of *honesty* and *dishonesty*.

As a means of summing the results of the four tests, a numerical value was assigned to each case on the basis of the area occupied in each test.⁸

Area of dishonesty	0
Area of suspicion	1
Area of nonsuspicion	2
Area of honesty	3

It follows that case number 5, which falls for all four occasions in the area of honesty, acquires a score of 12. Likewise the consistent occupation of the area of dishonesty by numbers 9 and 14 results in a score of zero. The following distribution indicates the number of cases receiving each score.

⁷ The percentage of all allotments—54.84 was placed in the *nonsuspicion* group in contrast to 19.6 per cent for the *honest*, 16.7 per cent for the *dishonest*, and 8.8 per cent for the *suspicion* group.

⁸ The deviations when given these numerical valuations yield an average mean deviation of .459 or 30.7 per cent of maximum possible mean deviation. The maximum possible mean deviation would exist in a case with two instances of *honesty* and two of *dishonesty*. This variation, which under the present basis of measurement was 1.5, is used as a norm with which to compare the actual mean deviation. In this data no mean deviation of over 1 was found.

<i>Score Received:</i>	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
<i>Number of Cases:</i>	1	6	10	7	11	6	4	4	7	5	2	0	2

A degree of consistency is evidenced in those thirty-four cases receiving a score of eight or more. With the exception of case 17, which on one occasion occupies an area of *suspicion*, all lie in areas of *nonsuspicion* or *honesty* on all four tests. The six additional cases scoring seven reflect a similar consistency. All occupy the area of *nonsuspicion*, except for one test each where they occupy the borderline area of *suspicion*. Since none of these forty-one cases falls into the area of *dishonesty* at any time, each may be accepted as honest within the limits of this experiment.

Among the lower scores a fair consistency is found for results on tests I, II, and usually III. Since tests III and IV tend to evidence only particular types of dishonest behavior, a lack of consistency with the other two in no way invalidates the conclusions of tests I and II. Cheating behavior may be assumed for the ten cases scoring three or less. Without question many of the ten cases with scores of four or five could also be presumed dishonest or under suspicion. One student with a score of six volunteered the information that he altered two minus signs on the correction.

A comparison of the seventeen highest scores with those of the sixteen lowest is revealing as to composition. For purposes of this comparison these groups will be designated as honest and dishonest.

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Undergraduates</i>	<i>Graduates</i>
17 honest	4	13	16	1
16 dishonest	11	5	12	4

The group tested comprised thirty-three men and thirty-two women, fifty-one undergraduates and fourteen graduates. The honest-dishonest distribution may be represented in percentages.

	<i>Percentage of All</i>		<i>Percentage of All of These Groups</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Undergraduates</i>	<i>Graduates</i>
17 honest	12	40	31	7
16 dishonest	33	16	24	29

Although the samples used in this experiment are quite inadequate in size for the drawing of any general conclusions regarding cheating, it merits our attention that within this group the men appear more dishonest than the women and that the graduate students register somewhat greater dishonesty than the undergraduates. The standard of "B" work set for graduate students may help to explain the latter case. An interesting but perhaps not significant observation is that among the nine scoring lowest were an ordained minister and a State president of a young people's Christian organization. The latter occupied the area of dishonesty on all four tests.

It must be recognized that situational tests can measure the behavior tendencies of the subject only in the situations covered. Honesty or dishonesty cannot be satisfactorily explained as the behavior of honest or dishonest persons. Satisfactory explanation can be given in terms of the techniques developed for solving particular problems or for meeting certain situations. It does not follow that the same techniques will be employed in situations somewhat dissimilar in nature. Honesty and dishonesty are not generalized virtues and vices. Society may attempt such definition but for the individual they are activities which have acquired utility in his behavior organization and by which he seeks to satisfy certain wishes. The student might euphemistically designate them as adaptations to environmental crises.

TWO SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS IN RUDIMENTARY SOCIETY

Based upon a Study of Honor among Young Persons

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In making any extended study of honor among young persons, so-called "honor systems" must be considered. Such "systems" are either a part of self-government, or in many cases the entire system. It was found that such systems in grade schools have been of short duration, and even in most high schools and private schools have been short-lived. Two, however, stand out apart from all the others. In each of these two cases, this self-government has been a successful attempt at a rudimentary society. These two schools are the McDonogh School and the George Junior Republic.

THE McDONOGH SCHOOL

About one hundred twenty-five years ago there was a queer old man whose boyhood days were spent in Baltimore, but whose business life was spent in the Crescent City. He was eccentric, unmercifully sharp in trade, disappointed in love. He lived the life of a miserly recluse and was able to leave at his death enough money to found the McDonogh School "for poor boys of respectable associations in life." This farm school has been for many years situated a few miles from Baltimore, embracing an area of about one and one-quarter miles square, including three acres of forest. The ages of the boys in the school range from 10 to 17 years. The school comprises a unique group. A former principal (Mr. Moreland) wrote, "We do not use the expression, 'placed upon honor.' We do try to show the boys that we trust

them." "There is evidently something of a sense of honor among them since cheating in examinations is almost unheard of and prompting in recitations is a rare thing." Those receiving the highest marks are granted furloughs for six, eight, or ten days, and the "wish to see that no boy gets a furlough by unfair means goes far to bring about a high sense of honor in all class and examination work." The boys consider it worse to violate their own code than to violate a code of the institution—"and the attempt to harmonize the two is not always successful." Let us remember that group honor is loyalty to a code—it might be that of a loyal group of church members, of an honorable lodge, a college code, or that of a band of thugs.

There is in this school another organization—less definitely defined, composed of the boys themselves, governed by their own rules, or codes, and applying especially to their property rights. Although there is a loyalty to the group—an *esprit de corps*, a feeling of communistic proprietorship—as seen in their saying, "McDonogh left his property to us," and sufficient honorable regard for their companions that there is "absolutely no helping or hocus pocus of any kind in examinations," yet their loyalty to their code or "rules," as the boys call them, concerning proprietorship is mainly individual—for self-protection, or rather for protection of their property rights. This group is well described by J. Hemsley Johnson, in his "Rudimentary Society Among Boys."¹ What we may call *honor* in this group is rudimentary and of value because natural. We might say its fundamentals are the "square deal" according to recognized codes. It is very like the form found among tribes of banditti—possibly the highest social-moral element among thieves—a square deal and loyalty to the group and its code, but fundamentally for the sake of protection of self and property. When the McDonogh

¹ Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, second series XI, 1884, pp. 9-56.

boys found unfair advantages were being taken by a few in securing walnuts, birds' nests, and rabbits on the school farm, it was decided that no nut trees should be shaken until a certain day agreed upon by the group; that a card nailed to a tree or a branch containing a bird's nest meant the inviolate ownership of that nest by the boy whose name was on the attached card; and that no other rabbit trap should be set "within a circle about four yards in diameter drawn about a trap already set as a center."

And these rules were loyally and honorably adhered to.

By way of illustration. When two boys found a dove's nest in a tree previously marked by another boy and appropriated the eggs, the former owner declared the property to be his. A group of boys gathered around the disputants. The matter was freely discussed. But when there was additional proof that the first owner's card had not only become detached from the tree but was nowhere in sight, loud cries arose from all parts of the throng. "It's Doggie's nest. It wasn't marked when he found it," said one of the group. "Your mark was blown away, Rufie," exclaimed another. This was final. The rule was honorably, loyally adhered to and the second finder kept the eggs.

Any boy who violated their code would be considered dishonorable, and "every (other) boy's hand would be against him."

Social honor here appears in its simplest form—undeveloped—rudimentary. The boys trust each other and are loyal to their code—principally, however, for the protection of each member's own personal rights.

Moreover this system of self-government has stood the test of time, for although it originated almost a half century ago it has never been discontinued and, though changed in some particulars, is still in successful operation.

THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC

A social group, or system of group government among young people which has been more popularly known is a colony of boys and girls, ranging in age from 16 to 21 years, at Freeville, N. Y., and named, after its founder, the George Junior Republic. This republic is an outgrowth of a summer vacation colony brought to the place more than forty years ago. As these "fresh-air children" seemed to think they had a right to live in idleness and lawlessness and demand clothing and other gifts as well as food and shelter, Mr. George developed among the group an application of what has been and still is their motto, "Nothing without labor," and placed the responsibility of their conduct in their control, for these children (or "citizens") are given complete charge of and responsibility for their own affairs. They have made their own constitution and laws; they elect their own executive and legislative officers; they disburse justice through their own courts and under their own judges, and immure their own convicted criminals in their own prison. These children form in fact a real community of their own, an *imperium in imperio*.

Work is a social as well as a physical necessity for all work—whether on the farm, in the school, in the bakery, laundry, or carpenter shop, it is paid for in their currency (aluminum), and lodging, food, clothing, and extras are procured only by means of this earned medium. The alternative is the ill favor of the citizens and the incarceration in their prison.

Practically the entire control for good order is with the citizens. From the very first Mr. George was impressed with three facts. First, the keen sense of justice and power of discrimination shown by the boys in all trials by jury; second, their superior powers of administration and discipline over their fellows compared with those shown by adults; third, their superior wisdom of the suggestions they made in modes of government and administration compared with those which had occurred to himself.

At first Mr. George was not ready to trust the boys and girls, so he appointed adult assistants as chief justice, chief of police, etc. But the very first summer he became convinced that the young people would be superior to adults in these positions, and since then these as well as minor offices have been held by the "citizens" themselves.

There is a loyalty here not only to the group itself but also to its formulated code (its laws). Group loyalty is illustrated by the incident of a visitor's remarking to one of the members, "I suppose you are very proud of your institution."

"Institution, Ma'am!" was the immediate response. "I'll have you know this is not an institution. This is a republic."

Loyalty to a definite moral idea is shown by the effectiveness of the sentiment for personal purity producing results that reformatories and other schools have been unable to accomplish.

The general results of the George Junior Republic have been excellent. Although the members are often those with recognized tendencies to lawless or worthless lives, of all received into the group not one has fallen below the moral classification in which he was placed at his entrance, many have improved, and those who have made the greatest moral progress are those who have been under this system for the longest time. The "citizens" have been trusted and have not abused this trust. In other words they have conducted themselves honorably.

In commenting upon this particular social group, the late President Eliot of Harvard declared that "the reformatory method used conforms to the most fundamental principles of education. First, the real object of education so far as the development of character is concerned is to cultivate in the child a capacity for self-control or self-government, not a habit of submission to an overwhelming arbitrary external power but a habit of obeying the dictates of *honor*--as enforced by active will power within the child."

In these two schools self-government (in a rudimentary society) has been successful. Although this study was first made several years ago, a typed copy was sent to the headmaster of the McDonogh School and to "Daddy George" of the George Junior Republic, asking each to make any additions or corrections to bring this study up-to-date. Few corrections, however, were made in the manuscript. This would indicate that these two systems, in the view of their sponsors, have been successful.

Success in any plans of self-government in any educational institutions, especially below college or university, depends to a great extent upon the trustful relationship between pupils and instructors, and the pupils towards each other, and the enthusiasm for, or devotion to the plan; also in part to the simplicity and completeness of the system.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF COLLEGE STUDENTS IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

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In a previous article the writer described the extracurricular activities at the University of Minnesota and at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio,¹ and in a second article he pointed out the difference in the academic achievement of students who engaged in few activities and those who engaged in many activities on these two campuses.² The purpose of this article is to discuss the scholarship of students who participated in the various kinds of activities at Wittenberg College.

In order to determine the academic achievement of students who participate in the different kinds of activities at this institution the grades made at the end of the first semester of 1927-1928 were tabulated. The students were divided into the four classes and into the two sexes. Then the twenty-fifth percentile, the median, and the seventy-fifth percentile were found for students divided according to the kind of activities in which they participated. A tabulation was made of the grades of students who participated in athletics and of the men students who were not in athletics; students who were in fraternities or sororities and those who were not in these organizations; students who were engaged in religious activities on the campus and those who took no active part in these activities; students who earned money while attending college and those who were not so engaged; and finally a tabulation was made of students who

¹ O. Myking Mehus, "Extracurricular Activities of College Students," *School and Society*, XXXV (April 23, 1932), pp. 574-576.

² O. Myking Mehus, "Extracurricular Activities and Academic Achievement," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI (November 1932), pp. 143-149.

engaged in each of the following activities: honor societies, professional societies, oratory or debate, dramatics, music, publications, and departmental clubs. Table I gives the medians for the whole student body. The medians and percentiles for each class are not given because of lack of space.

TABLE I
Median Scholarship Quotient of Students Participating in Various Activities at Wittenberg College

ACTIVITY	TOTAL				GRAND TOTAL	
	Men		Women		Men and Women	
	Median	Total	Median	Total	Median	Total
1. Athletics engaged in	1.92	105	2.57	70	2.06	175
2. Not engaged in athletics	2.12	386	—	—	—	—
3. Fraternities or sororities	2.09	258	2.60	233	2.35	491
4. Nonmember	2.10	234	2.46	170	2.37	404
5. Honor societies	2.43	30	3.25	9	2.43	39
6. Professional societies	2.88	39	3.03	31	2.85	70
7. Oratory or debate	3.08	27	3.48	27	3.11	54
8. Dramatics	2.33	23	3.04	12	2.61	35
9. Music	2.23	97	2.28	58	2.25	155
10. Religious (campus)	2.29	191	2.62	213	2.56	404
11. Not engaged in	1.99	300	2.40	191	2.12	491
12. Publications	2.38	45	2.71	26	2.43	71
13. Departmental clubs	2.26	73	2.71	74	2.44	147
14. Church or religious work	2.03	255	2.50	277	2.39	532
15. Earning money	2.20	285	2.44	118	2.27	403
16. Not engaged in	2.01	206	2.53	286	2.44	492
17. Total	2.09	491	2.50	404	2.36	895

Taking the student body as a whole, there is only a slight difference between the median scholarship quotient of the men athletes and nonathletes at Wittenberg College Education for the former and 2.12 for the latter. Among the freshmen men there

is a greater difference between the medians of the two groups—1.88 for the athletes and 2.13 for the nonathletes. The difference in the twenty-fifth percentile is not so great—1.49 and 1.52 in favor of the nonathletes, while in the seventy-fifth percentile the difference is greater—2.30 for the athletes and 2.81 for the nonathletes.

In the sophomore and junior classes the athletes have a lower scholarship quotient than the nonathletes in all three percentiles, while in the senior class the athletes are higher in the twenty-fifth percentile and median. The differences are not very great, however, in the senior class—twenty-fifth percentile, 1.92 and 1.71; median, 2.60 and 2.53. In the sophomore class the median is practically the same for each group—2.09 for the athletes and 2.11 for the nonathletes.

The scholarship quotient for the women athletes is consistently higher in every class than for men athletes. Not only that, but it is higher than for the men nonathletes in every case except for the twenty-fifth percentile in the junior class and the seventy-fifth percentile in the senior class.

There is practically no difference in the median scholarship quotient between the total fraternity and nonfraternity men at Wittenberg College—2.09 and 2.10, respectively. In the sororities there is a slight difference in favor of the sorority women—2.60 and 2.46. For the college as a whole the median scholarship quotient is practically the same for those who belong to fraternities and sororities and those who do not—2.35 for the former and 2.37 for the latter.

The freshman, junior, and senior men nonfraternity members have a higher median scholarship than the fraternity men. For the freshmen the difference is only slight—2.06 and 2.10; for the juniors it is only a little larger—2.27 and 2.37; while for the seniors the difference in the median scholarship quotient between the two groups is considerable—2.31 and 2.73 in favor

of the nonfraternity group. The sophomore men show a slight difference in favor of the fraternity men—2.13 and 2.08.

The freshman sorority women have a higher scholarship quotient than the nonsorority freshman women—2.61 and 2.46, while in all the other classes the nonsorority women are higher in the twenty-fifth percentile, median, and seventy-fifth percentile. The differences in the medians are as follows: sophomores, 3.12 and 2.60; junior, 2.61 and 2.52; and senior, 3.25 and 2.76.

The students who are active in religious organizations on the campus have a higher median scholarship quotient than those who are not active—2.56 and 2.12. This is true for the men and women taken separately as well as for the student body as a whole. For the men the median scholarship is 2.29 and 1.99, while for the women it is 2.62 and 2.40 in favor of those who take an active part in campus religious organizations. In every class the men have a higher scholarship quotient for those active in religious affairs, while the women have a higher median for those who participate in campus religious activities in the freshman and junior years and a lower for the sophomore and senior classes. In the three upper classes, however, the difference in the scholarship quotient between the two groups is very slight.

The men who earn money while attending college have a higher median scholarship quotient than the men who do not earn money while attending college—2.20 as compared with 2.01. While the women who work have a slightly lower quotient than those who do not have to earn money while attending college—2.44 and 2.53. Taking the median for both men and women together it is found that the students not earning money have a higher median scholarship quotient—2.44 and 2.27.

In every class the men who earn money while attending college have a higher median scholarship quotient than those who do not. The freshman and sophomore women who are not

engaged in earning money have the higher scholarship quotient, while among the junior and senior women it is the women who earn money who have the higher scholarship quotient.

Ranking all the activities that men students participate in, disregarding classes, it is found that the men who participate in oratory and debate have the highest median scholarship quotient; namely, 3.08. The other activities rank as follows, with the scholarship quotient given after each activity: professional societies (2.88); honor societies (2.43); publications (2.38); dramatics (2.33); campus religious activities (2.29); departmental clubs (2.26); music (2.23); earning money (2.20); fraternities (2.09); all men (2.09); church or religious work off the campus (2.03); and athletics (1.92).

Taking the activities that women participate in and ranking them in a similar manner it is found that oratory and debate rank first with median scholarship quotient of 3.48. The other activities rank as follows: honor societies (3.25); dramatics (3.04); professional societies (3.03); publications (2.71); departmental clubs (2.71); campus religious activities (2.62); sororities (2.60); athletics (2.57); all women (2.50); church or religious work off the campus (2.50); earning money (2.44); and music (2.28).

In Table II the above activities have been arranged in five groups and the median scholarship quotient tabulated for each group, men and women separately, and the total for men and women. The five groups are as follows: *intellectual* (including oratory, debate, publications, departmental clubs, professional societies, and honor societies); *emotional* (campus and off-campus religious activities); *social* (fraternities and sororities); *fine arts* (dramatics and music); and *physical* (athletics).

The median scholarship quotient for all the students engaged in activities is highest for the group engaged in intellectual activities, with a scholarship quotient of 2.44. The emotional activi-

ties ran next with 2.39, then social activities, (2.35), fine arts (2.25), and the physical lowest (2.06).

If the men are taken separately it is found that the rank is not the same as for the whole student body. The intellectual

TABLE II

Student Activities Classified in Five Groups with Median Scholarship Quotients

ACTIVITIES	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL STUDENTS	
	Scholarship Quotient	Total	Scholarship Quotient	Total	Scholarship Quotient	Total
I. <i>Intellectual</i> (Oratory, debate, publications, departmental clubs, professional societies, honor societies)	2.35	214	2.71	167	2.44	381
II. <i>Emotional</i> (Campus and off-campus religious activities)	2.03	446	2.50	490	2.39	936
III. <i>Social</i> (Fraternities, sororities)	2.09	258	2.60	233	2.35	491
IV. <i>Fine arts</i> (Dramatics, music)	2.23	120	2.28	70	2.25	190
V. <i>Physical</i> (Athletics)	1.92	105	2.57	70	2.06	175
Total	2.09	491	2.50	404	2.36	895

activities ran first (2.35); then the fine arts (2.03), and the physical (1.92). This indicates that the men engaged in dramatics and musical activities are high in scholarship, while those who are active in religious activities are quite low in scholarship.

Among the women students those who are engaged in the intellectual activities rank highest (2.71) as in the case with the men. Those in social activities are next with a scholarship of 2.60. The women engaged in athletics are nearly as high in scholarship (2.57), while those in emotional activities are a little lower (2.50), and the participants in the fine arts are the lowest (2.28). In every group the women have a higher scholarship quotient than the men in the same group.

The above facts seem to indicate that the students who make the best grades in college tend to find an outlet for their extracurricular activities in such fields as oratory, debate, publications, and departmental clubs, while the students who take an active part in athletics, music, and dramatics are lower in scholarship than this first group. On the other hand if all the men who are in fraternities are compared with all the men who are not in fraternities there is practically no difference in the median scholarship, while the sorority women rank higher than the nonsorority women. Both men and women who are active in campus religious organizations rank higher in scholarship than those students who are not in these activities. Women students who earn money while attending college have a lower scholarship than women who are not so engaged, while men students who earn money rank higher in scholarship than those who do not have to engage in this form of activity.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

SOCIETY FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

The Society for Social Research held its Thirteenth Annual Institute in the Social Science Building at the University of Chicago on August 17, 18, and 19, 1934. The general topic for the Institute was "Regional Planning and Regional Research."

The Friday session presented an interesting program in which the following were some of the outstanding papers:

Regional Population Patterns in Illinois

E. T. Hiller, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois
The Research Program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration

Clark Tibbitts, Federal Emergency Relief Administration
Radio Program Preference in the Chicago Region

Allen Miller, University of Chicago

Juvenile Delinquency and the Movement of Nationality Groups

Henry D. McKay, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Illinois
Integration of State and Local Government in Indiana

R. Clyde White, Executive Secretary, Governor's Commission on
Government Economy

Objectives of Social Planning for the Region

Jacob L. Crane, President of the American City Planning Institute
and Consultant for the National Planning Board

Objectives and Significance of Regional Research

Robert E. Park, Department of Sociology, The University of Chicago
Social Research in the Chicago Metropolitan Region, Retrospect and
Prospect

Louis Wirth, Department of Sociology, The University of Chicago
Research in the Psychology of Social Manipulation

H. D. Lasswell, Department of Political Science, The University of Chicago

The second day of the Institute continued with a further discussion of regional planning and research. Outstanding papers and discussions were as follows:

Trends in Land Values in Chicago and Other World Cities

Homer Hoyt, Chicago

Studies of Chicago Areas of Decreasing Population

Hugh Young, Chicago Plan Commission

Problems of Wholesome Valuation of a Million Parcels of Real Estate

Walter R. Kuehnle, Chief of Real Estate Division, Office of the Assessor of Cook County

Methods of Predicting Population Changes in Chicago

G. Leland Seaton, Commercial Engineer, Illinois Bell Telephone Company

Yardsticks for Planning the Chicago Region

Robert S. Kingery, Chicago Regional Planning Association

City Maps and Records

Howard C. Brodman, City Map Department

Statistical Work of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission

Robert Myers, Chief Statistician, Illinois Emergency Relief Commission

Studies of Outlying Business Centers in Chicago

Malcolm D. Proudfoot, Geography Department, The University of Chicago

The annual dinner of the Society, which was held at 6.30 on Saturday in the Judson Court Dining Room, was addressed by Professor Robert E. Park, University of Chicago, who spoke on the subject "Coöperative Research in the Region." A general discussion followed Dr. Park's presentation. The sessions on Sunday were given to discussion groups and committee meetings.

The devotion of this program to regional research marks an important trend in the development of the regional approach to social and research problems. The concept of the region is of particular importance to sociology because it is the recognition

of a fundamental sociological principle; namely, the interdependence of social and ecological units in larger areas than that represented by the largest cities. An approach to social problems through a study of the region is of particular significance in the field of government, transportation, business and industry, relief work, crime, and all forms of social disorganization. Regional planning for social, recreational, and preventive work is extremely important in the effective solution of social problems.

INTERSTITIAL AREA AND THE REGION

The present trend towards regional research is very well illustrated in a study which has been undertaken by Margaret B. Gerard on the subject, "Interstitial Areas in Three New England States: A Study of Regional Development and Characteristics." The following brief summary of the problem and the methods which have been employed is taken from a statement prepared by Miss Gerard:

Regional studies to date have tended to emphasize political philosophies, problems of municipal finance, or varying cultural concepts. There is a need for a more objective defining of the region itself, and for regional studies which make use of research methods which have been found to have value in studies of urban conditions.

The area chosen for this study represents a fairly well-controlled experiment in regional definition since geographical factors of water and climate prevent the too common "peripheral fringes," and short distances within the area leave no open spaces between the various regions. It includes both the metropolitan or community type dominated by the central city, and the river-valley type where no one city assumes any particular importance.

The methods used are: (1) the *natural history* method, to trace the social and economic development of the regions included in the study; (2) the *statistical method*, to test certain factors in communities by Shaw's indices for "delinquency areas"; and (3) the *case study method* to compare the conditions in a selected group of communities with Thrasher's definition of an "interstitial area."

BOOK REVIEWS

From Chaos to Control, by SIR NORMAN ANGELL. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1933, 208 pages.

The major thesis proposed by the author in the first lecture is that "it serves little purpose to find the way of escape if those who are to tread it do not believe it to be the way of escape, and refuse to follow it." Our electorates are represented as being at the stage of misunderstanding in economic matters that the Easterners are in the matter of sanitation and its relation to disease. They are guided by passion, emotion, and fatalism. They refuse to be guided by the experts and by facts and sober judgment. The author urges the necessity for capitalism and socialism agreeing upon certain programs which both may endorse. He argues that actually there cannot be a purely capitalistic, socialistic, or communistic state. He presents considerable evidence on this point. He states that the management of the world which went to smash in 1914 was in the hands of highly educated people. The worst disasters which have come upon us could have been avoided if the ordinary man could have grasped the meanings of extremely simple things, of the facts he already knew. He says the task of education is to teach people to apply what they know to daily judgments. This book is recommended as an exceptionally clear and sane treatment of the present economic and political situation with constructive proposals for escape.

The Great Offensive, by MAURICE HINDUS. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1933, 368 pages.

Few are the writers who can successfully interpret Communism and present-day Russia to American readers. To be able to do this requires a close and sympathetic acquaintanceship with Russia and Russians, both before and after the Revolution, and an equally close acquaintanceship with America and Americans. Maurice Hindus is one of the few writers on this subject who meets these exacting standards. If he is a propagandist, he is also critical. He believes that the Russian experiment will live in Russia, but he also believes that Communism after the Russian pattern is not readily adaptable to the more highly developed countries. No doubt he believes that other countries may learn much from Russia's experi-

ences with such fundamental problems and issues as the remaking of human personality, collective agriculture, marriage and divorce, morality, penal reform, and education.

The Machine Unchained, by LEO HAUSLEITER. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933, 376 pages.

In Germany, where this book was first published, it was called *Revolution in World Industry*. It bears the subtitle, "Revolution in the World Economic System from the First Steam Engine to the Crisis of Plenty."

This same subject was treated a few years ago by the French economic publicist, Francis Delaîsi, in his book *The Two Europes*. It is not so much the story of industrial revolution that these books are concerned with as the conquest of the earth by European industry. We are shown here again that this conquest bore within itself the seeds of its own destruction for it is based upon the productive capacities of Europe finding their outlet in vast colonial or semicolonial markets. It reached the point where, except for Japan and Abyssinia, the whole world was controlled by Europeans or the descendants of Europeans, but then the worm began to turn out its own machines and machine-made products. Europe lost her market and the great financial crisis set in. This crisis is called the crisis of plenty, but, of course, it is no such thing. Well, anyway, what is the cure? It is curious to note here that, whereas the Frenchman Delaîsi found the cure in a United States of Europe, that is, the sort of hegemony which France has attempted with some success to set up in Central Europe, the German Hausleiter finds the cure in the corporate state—which the Germans are supposed to have under Hitler. In both cases the object is to defeat Communism.

Seeds of Revolt, by MAURITZ A. HALLGREN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933, 369 pages.

The book will probably be considered radical by the conservatives and at the same time will be hardly satisfactory to the revolutionists. Part I deals with contemporary events and draws a picture of conditions: hunger, pauper wages, strike of the miners, the red strikes in Detroit, the story of Chicago, the revolt of the farmers. Part II draws a line from the condition to the revolution. The following chapter and section heads

will indicate the content: 'The Jobless Help Themselves, Down to Naked Barter, This is Labor's War, The Middle Class Rebels, Technocracy, Towards Fascism ("Laissez Faire" Hangs On, The Offensive Against Democracy, The Economic Planners) The Price of Democracy (President or Puppet?), The Thin Edge of Fascism), And the Revolution? (Apocryphal Socialism, Timid Communism, The Future of the Revolution).

The Third American Revolution, by BENSON Y. LANDIS. New York: Association Press, 1933, 156 pages.

The Third American Revolution refers to the first nine months of the Roosevelt administration. There is little of the author included. The book is largely a collection of statements of President Roosevelt, some of his cabinet, and his brain trust; also excerpts from daily newspapers and weekly and monthly periodicals. It is really a report of reactions, not a critical analysis of the author, Benson Y. Landis. There are about a dozen pages in the appendix on "How To Use This Book for Discussion."

On the whole, it is not very weighty but probably good for a person who has not kept up with the news since March 4, 1933.

Farewell to Reform, by JOHN CAMBERLIN. New York: Horace Liveright, 1933, 333 pages.

A history of the liberal mind and progressive movement in America, with an evaluation of its failure. Written before the "New Deal," its judgment is premature in some respects. Stimulating, and a magnificent critical documentation of the literature on social action in America from the nineties to the present crisis.

An Introduction to Educational Sociology, by ROSS L. FINNEY AND LESLIE D. ZELENY. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1934, 341 pages.

Textbooks in educational sociology have tended to err in one of two extremes: either they have been written from the point of view of pure sociology with incidental implication for education or they have been primarily principles of education from a sociological point of view. The present writers have avoided both Scylla and Caribdis. Part I, The Com-

munity and the Teacher, illustrates their treatment of the field. Chapters I and II are excellent sociological studies of a typical small city and of typical rural areas. The remaining two chapters of this section clearly demonstrate the function of the teacher working in such communities. Throughout the entire volume the authors have maintained a sociological point of view even in their terminology but they have likewise consistently utilized it in helping the teacher meet the practical problems of the classroom. The profuse illustrative material is drawn from actual experience rather than swivel-chair cogitation. It is well organized, readable, and interesting.

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EDITORIAL

The past year has witnessed a sharp clash between those educators, public-spirited citizens, and writers who, on the one hand, hold that education should play a leading rôle in determining social policies and directing social processes and who, on the other hand, believe that education must follow the social order and remain a conservative force in carrying out social programs provided for them.

The first group would build its program out of the present, emphasizing the social sciences, and seek to discount past curricula and methods. They would revolutionize present programs and practices. They would seek to build a more adequate and just social order and build it through our schools. The second group would limit educational programs to the fundamentals and, in general, would look backward for subject matter and method.

In the light of this clash of opposing opinions we should like to discover, if possible, the prospects of the one or the other proposal. Obviously, with the same body of educators we now have, unreconstructed in point of view, we will proceed about as in the past regardless of the wishes of those leaders who desire to overthrow our educational past and bring about a new day. There is little evidence, moreover, that the great body of teachers and school administrators are equipped for educational reconstruction or deeply interested in effecting it. Their training, in so far

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as techniques or methods are concerned, has been the kind that helps them to do effectively the sort of thing we have done for generations. Our great body of teachers, principals, and superintendents have acquired refined techniques of imparting a conventional school curriculum and of measuring the results of instruction in so far as the rôle of the conventional curriculum is concerned. The educational progress of the present generation has been essentially in increased efficiency in learning material from books and testing the results of schoolroom learning. We have made little or no progress in the techniques for the development of personality or in methods that relate to a change in the social order. If we attempt the development of a program of educational reconstruction we shall have to start from scratch.

The present situation, therefore, does not look hopeful for any immediate, radical change. We can, however, begin gradually the development of a new educational program if we are willing to change our educational approach fundamentally, and if we are willing to assume, first, that the purpose of education is the development and enrichment of personality and more effective social control; second, that these objectives are achieved through a variety of formal and informal agencies in the community affecting ideals, attitudes, and points of view of the individual; and third, that personalities can be directed in their development and the social order affected only through a complete understanding and integration of the educational forces affecting individual and social development. The school must effect the integration of all educational forces by a scientific research into social backgrounds and by an understanding of the whole child in his relationship to them.

F. G. P.

PERSONAL DIFFICULTIES OF PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS

R. L. WAMPLER AND H. D. WELTE

Teachers College of Connecticut, New Britain, Connecticut

It is evident that there are many factors which may be quite as important in determining relative success or failure of prospective teachers as mental ability and scholastic achievement. The problem of isolating these factors and of determining the relative importance of each merits the consideration of educators everywhere. If we are to consider the whole student, we must be in a position to identify the negative as well as the positive factors which condition student performance.

Brewer¹ says, "In spite of the elaborate nature of our present school and college machinery, most educators would agree that the final purpose of it all is simply that students may learn to live better lives. Why then, do we not set up living and guidance therein as the curriculum, rather than the so-called standard subjects or fields of knowledge? Apparently our practice lags behind our purpose."

Bobbit,² in the course of his curriculum investigations, says, "All other things being equal, the things that are giving us trouble are the things which we are likely to talk about most." Charters³ also found that people do not always comprehend their duties because they are submerged in habit and difficulties are readily recognized because they require focusing of attention.

Major contributions of educational psychology during the last decade have been in the field of educational and mental measurement. Studies of this type require no justification. It is equally

¹ John M. Brewer, *Education as Guidance* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), ix + 668 pages.

² Franklin Bobbit, *Curriculum Investigations*, Educational Monograph No. 31, University of Chicago, p. 10.

³ W. W. Charters, "Activity Analysis and Curriculum Construction," *Journal of Educational Research* (May 1922), pp. 307-367.

important that educational sociology should match psychology's contributions in the field of measuring educational products with companion contributions in the field of social adjustment.

It is the purpose of this article to point out some of the various personal difficulties which are experienced by prospective teachers and to determine the relative significance of each difficulty. The frequency with which each item is checked will be used as a basis for determining its extent.

In a section of a larger study by one of the writers,⁴ an effort was made to determine from a list of sixty personal difficulties those which were particularly troublesome. The first twenty items were concerned with health and personal appearance, the second twenty with social behavior, and the third twenty with work relations. Assuming that there is considerable overlapping of items in the three groups, it is significant to note differences among the three difficulty groups when studied collectively.

These lists were submitted to 211 students at the State Normal School, New Britain, Connecticut, in October 1932. All of the students in this school are young women preparing to teach in elementary schools. Each student was asked to check those items which were recognized as personal difficulties. No names were signed, as it was felt that the anonymity would protect the more sensitive members and would encourage freedom of expression in general. In March 1933, the difficulty check lists were administered to 108 freshmen who were admitted after the first study had been completed, and the results will be referred to as those of the "second group" or "1933 group." The results are presented in Table I which is read as follows: Item number one was checked by 6 students in the 1932 study and by 8 students in the second study; item number two was checked by 3 students in the 1932 study and by 12 students in the second study, etc.

⁴Richard L. Wampler, *Social Adjustment of Normal School Students*. Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation, New York University, 1932.

Difficulties such as lack of culture and education and not taking suggestions which were checked by only a very few may be diffi-

TABLE I
Personal Difficulties Experienced by Prospective Teachers

NO.	DIFFICULTY	1932 STUDY (211 CASES)		1933 STUDY (108 CASES)	
		No. Times Checked	Rank	No. Times Checked	Rank
1.	A physical handicap	6	48.5	8	49.0
2.	Being free from B.C.	3	55.5	12	41.5
3.	Being judged by appearance	28	19.0	30	18.0
4.	Being out of style	2	58.0	12	41.5
5.	Getting attractive clothes	27	22.0	28	20.5
6.	Going to a dentist	76	2.0	33	13.5
7.	Having colds	30	16.5	20	27.0
8.	Having headaches	16	35.5	13	38.0
9.	Having to diet	22	27.0	13	38.0
10.	Hearing or eye trouble	28	19.0	22	24.0
11.	Indigestion or constipation	17	32.0	21	25.5
12.	Keeping clothes in order	15	38.5	17	32.0
13.	Keeping hair looking nice	60	5.0	47	6.0
14.	Keeping hands looking nice	42	10.5	46	7.0
15.	Looking dowdy	6	48.5	5	55.0
16.	Not being good-looking	31	15.0	34	12.0
17.	Periodical illness	11	41.0	21	25.5
18.	Poor health, being ill	4	53.5	2	58.5
19.	Posture difficulties	34	14.0	33	13.5
20.	Using rouge correctly	6	48.5	2	58.5
21.	Being considered unrefined	4	53.5	12	41.5
22.	Being made fun of	24	25.0	25	23.0
23.	Being shy	44	9.0	51	5.0
24.	Differences with friends	12	40.0	18	31.0
25.	Feeling of inferiority	51	7.0	54	4.0
26.	Girls' drinking habits	20	29.5	5	55.0
27.	Girls' smoking habits	9	44.0	6	53.0
28.	Lack of as much money as others	27	22.0	28	20.5
29.	Lack of men friends	7	46.0	19	29.0
30.	Lack of sex knowledge	3	55.5	13	38.0

TABLE I—Continued

NO.	DIFFICULTY	1911 STUDY (211 CASES)		1911 STUDY (168 CASES)	
		No. Times Checked	Rank	No. Times Checked	Rank
31.	Meeting strangers	20	20.0	31	16.0
32.	Men drinking	27	22.0	11	44.0
33.	Not getting along with people	8	45.0	8	49.0
34.	Not enough social life	28	19.0	30	18.0
35.	Not knowing what to say	50	8.0	61	2.0
36.	Restlessness	41	12.0	30	18.0
37.	Self-consciousness	81	1.0	65	1.0
38.	Showing embarrassment in company	23	26.0	36	10.0
39.	Showing emotions too easily	55	6.0	35	11.0
40.	Unconventional behavior	5	51.5	7	51.5
41.	Appearing before others	30	16.5	37	9.0
42.	Assuming leadership	16	35.5	27	22.0
43.	Conflicts with those in authority	10	42.5	8	49.0
44.	Criticisms of superiors	26	24.0	14	36.0
45.	Doing what others don't like	16	35.5	10	29.0
46.	Doing what others think wrong	15	38.5	10	45.5
47.	Educational or religious doubts	21	28.0	15	35.0
48.	Failure in work undertaken	42	10.5	16	33.5
49.	Foreign accent or appearance	0	60.0	0	60.0
50.	Getting into arguments	16	35.5	16	33.5
51.	Having my work interrupted	38	13.0	41	8.0
52.	Lack of culture and education	2	58.0	7	51.5
53.	Lack of self-confidence	63	3.5	57	3.0
54.	Low ideals of those with whom working	5	51.5	5	55.0
55.	Not liking my work	17	32.0	12	41.5
56.	Not making good	63	3.5	32	15.0
57.	Not taking suggestions	2	58.0	4	57.0
58.	Overworking	17	32.0	10	29.0
59.	Taking responsibility	6	48.5	9	47.0
60.	Unfair treatment	10	42.5	10	45.5

culty centers of which the students are not aware. Students are especially aware of personal difficulties in qualities which instruc-

tors may have emphasized, such as keeping hair looking nice, keeping hands looking nice, and posture difficulties which trouble from 34 to 60 of the students. Fifty or more manifest difficulties in social behavior, such as self-consciousness, showing emotions too easily, feeling of inferiority, and not knowing what to say in company.

The difficulty centers in the work relations are largely lack of self-confidence, fears of not making good, and failure in work undertaken, all checked by 40 or more students. Fear of not making good may be emphasized by parent pressure. Foreign-born parents often have an over-desire for their children to succeed. Exaggerated conscientiousness, eagerness to please, quiet timidity, or shrinking self-consciousness may not hinder students in their normal-school classwork, but they are real problems from the standpoint of mental health and ultimate capacity to teach. Social and inferiority complexes, serious causes of mental breakdowns in youth, may be carried through life.

The ranks in the first study were correlated against the ranks in the second study by the method of rank-differences. Rho was found to be .854 with an inferred value for r of $.975 \pm .087$. This would seem to indicate a significant relationship between the two groups.

A comparison between the ranks of the fifteen items which were most frequently checked in the first study and the ranks of these items in the second study is presented in Table II. An analysis of this table indicates that the students who were used in this study experience most difficulty with items related to social behavior. It will also be noted that the same difficulties except two make their appearance in the first quartile, and that these two exceptions are not far beyond the limit which was drawn between the fifteenth and sixteenth highest ranking difficulties in the original study. The average difference of the ranks is 4.4, which represents a fairly close personal-difficulty relationship between the two groups.

Binnewies,⁶ in a recent study of the problem of college girls, found timidity, self-consciousness, and health to be the greatest difficulties. In this study, "poor health, being ill" is checked by only 1.89 per cent or 4 students. This is probably due to the influence of a rigid health requirement in the process of selection of the students from among the candidates seeking admission to this institution.

TABLE II

Comparison Between Ranks of Fifteen Greatest Personal Difficulties in 1932 Study and Ranks in 1933 Study

ITEM NO.	PERSONAL DIFFICULTY	RANKS		DIFFERENCE
		1932 Study	1933 Study	
37.	Self-consciousness	1.0	1.0	0.0
6.	Going to a dentist	2.0	13.5	11.5
53.	Lack of self-confidence . .	3.5	3.0	.5
56.	Not making good	3.5	15.0	11.5
13.	Keeping hair looking nice .	5.0	6.0	1.0
39.	Showing emotions too easily	6.0	11.0	5.0
25.	Feeling of inferiority . . .	7.0	4.0	3.0
35.	Not knowing what to say .	8.0	2.0	6.0
23.	Being shy	9.0	5.0	4.0
14.	Keeping hands looking nice .	10.5	7.0	3.5
48.	Failure in work undertaken .	10.5	16.0	5.5
36.	Restlessness	12.0	18.0	6.0
51.	Having my work interrupted	13.0	8.0	5.0
19.	Posture difficulties	14.0	13.5	.5
16.	Not being good-looking . .	15.0	12.0	3.0

A comparison between the ranks of the fifteen items which ranked lowest in the first study and the ranks of these items in the second study is presented in Table III. A study of this table indicates that students experience least difficulty with items which are related to health and personal appearance. Foreign accent or appearance, being out of style, lack of culture and

⁶ W. G. Binnewies, "A Study of the Social, Vocational, and Educational Problems of College Girls," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, V, 2 (October 1931), 83-88.

education, not taking suggestions, etc., are personal difficulties which are experienced by very few of these prospective teachers.

The only item which went unchecked by any student in either the first or second group was foreign accent or appearance. This probably is an unrecognized difficulty, since approximately 50 per cent of the parents of both groups are foreign born.

A comparison between the results obtained in the two studies indicates that some of the difficulties are increasing in extent while others are decreasing. It may be due to social changes in a rapidly evolving society, to different emphases in teaching, to the slight difference in age between the groups, to the economic situation, the radio or the movies.

TABLE III
Comparison Between Ranks of Fifteen Personal Difficulties Ranking Lowest in 1932 Study and Ranks in 1933 Study

ITEM NO.	PERSONAL DIFFICULTY	RANKS		DIFFERENCE
		1932 Study	1933 Study	
29.	Lack of men friends . . .	46.0	45.5	.5
1.	A physical handicap . . .	48.5	49.0	.5
15.	Looking dowdy . . .	48.5	55.0	6.5
20.	Using rouge correctly . . .	48.5	58.5	10.0
59.	Taking responsibility . . .	48.5	47.0	.5
40.	Unconventional behavior . .	51.5	51.5	.0
54.	Low ideals of those with whom working . . .	51.5	55.0	3.5
18.	Poor health, being ill . . .	53.5	58.5	5.0
21.	Being considered unrefined .	53.5	41.5	12.0
2.	Being free from B.O. . .	55.5	41.5	14.0
30.	Lack of sex knowledge . . .	55.5	38.0	17.5
57.	Not taking suggestions . . .	58.0	57.0	1.0
52.	Lack of culture and education	58.0	51.5	6.5
4.	Being out of style . . .	58.0	41.5	16.5
49.	Foreign accent or appearance	60.0	60.0	0.0

The following difficulties appear to be increasing in extent: being out of style, keeping hands looking nice, periodical ill-

ness, being considered unrefined, being shy, differences with friends, feeling of inferiority, lack of men friends, lack of sex knowledge, not knowing what to say, showing embarrassment in company, appearing before others, assuming leadership, doing what others don't like, and having work interrupted. The difficulties which appear to be decreasing in extent are: educational or religious doubts, failure in work undertaken, not liking my work, not making good, criticisms of superiors, girls' drinking habits, girls' smoking habits, men drinking, using rouge correctly, having to diet, having eye trouble, showing emotions too easily, and going to a dentist.

The items checked by the 211 students in the study made in 1932 were arranged in rank-order of the frequency with which each item had been indicated as a real personal difficulty, and the same was done with the items checked by the freshmen in March 1933.

SUMMARY

1. The purpose of this article was to determine from a list of sixty items those personal difficulties which are particularly troublesome to prospective teachers.

2. A list of sixty personal difficulties was submitted to 211 students at the New Britain State Normal School, New Britain, Connecticut, in 1932. The students were asked to check those difficulties which were particularly troublesome to them. They were encouraged to express themselves frankly and no names were signed.

3. The study was repeated in the same institution in 1933 by administering it to the freshmen who were not included in the previous study.

4. The frequency with which each item was checked was used as a basis for determining the extent of the difficulty. The results appear in Table I.

5. The items were then ranked in order of major frequency. The correlation between the ranks of the difficulties on the original study and those of the second study was found to be .854 with an inferred value for r of $.975 \pm .087$.

6. The fifteen personal difficulties which ranked the highest and the fifteen which ranked the lowest were presented in Tables II and III, respectively.

7. The average difference in ranks between the fifteen items ranking highest in the original study and the ranks of these same items in the second study was found to be 4.4.

8. The average difference in ranks between the fifteen items which ranked lowest in the original study and their ranks in the second study was found to be 6.3.

CONCLUSIONS AND INFERENCES

There appears to be a need for focusing attention on the personal difficulties of the students in teacher-training institutions, and the results of the present study would seem to indicate that the problem is not confined to any particular institution. Some attention to this problem should offer valuable cues to the improvement of the whole student. It is likely that the students can make many corrective changes themselves if some guidance and encouragement is offered by teachers and supervisors.

It was the purpose of this article to point out what the main personal difficulties of the students are rather than to set up a comprehensive program of guidance.

The list of personal difficulties which was used in this study is by no means complete. Additional studies are needed in the development of a more comprehensive list. The treatment should be in accordance with our best scientific knowledge tempered with common sense. Personality education may be taught concomitantly with any activity but the instructor may achieve better results by indirect methods. Learning usually requires

extensive exercise in many situations and this is especially true in the subtle and complex learning in social adjustments.

It is a psychological phenomenon that some individuals grow stronger because of the difficulties which thwart them. But it is usually the degree of success with which the individual overcomes his difficulties that yields satisfaction. Since teaching involves conditional learning, it might well be applied to the relief of an individual from an inferiority complex with as great profit as to quibble about the theory of the lowering of the resistance of synaptic connections. It is probable that many cases of inferiority development have been caused by social patterns which are in evidence from the kindergarten through the university. It is important for educators everywhere to be forever alert to such problems.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, published from September to May, inclusive, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1934.

State of New York } ss.
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, depose and say that she is the Business Manager of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* and that the following is to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations:

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Editor, E. George Payne	32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
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JEAN B. BARR, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1934.

FABIE E. WASHBURN

My commission expires March 30, 1936.

THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALITY UPON TEACHER PLACEMENT

MATTIE LOUISE HATCHER

State Normal School, Paterson, New Jersey

The complaint is often made by students in quest of their first positions after graduation that opportunities are more apt to be closed to them on account of racial and religious prejudices rather than because of the lack of those personal qualities which signify teaching abilities and powers. This opinion finds much vocal expression from the students of Paterson, New Jersey, State Normal School situated as it is in the midst of the representatives of all languages and creeds. The assertion is not made that the placement bureau in the school itself exercises discrimination, but that the authorities in the field are unfair in their choices.

Those who make these accusations are placing the blame, if blame there be, upon the proper shoulders, for the Normal School evidently accepts nationalities, or individuals, who have difficulty in securing satisfactory positions. It should be remembered, however, that communities get back largely those very students who have been sent by them to the institutions which prepare teachers; and that if they furnish those who are not acceptable to their own home systems, or if they send an oversupply of students, then the criticism should be launched against local areas, not against society at large.

The only way by which a valid reply to this statement can be framed is through an arrangement of facts so selected and organized as to throw light upon the points under consideration. A thorough piece of research is too large an undertaking for a minor study; the investigation at present had better be limited to the data from one school and even one class, with another class used as a check. Perhaps there may emerge therefrom

some bases for conclusions pertaining to the matter, even though these conclusions be tentative.

Due to this same religious-prejudice controversy students in the State normal schools of New Jersey no longer indicate their religious affiliations upon entrance, although much may be inferred from nationality and from name. Assumed facts are eliminated, however, for obvious reasons and attention concentrated upon nationality, normal-school record, and position secured.

The problem, then, is to see if nationality is more potent in teacher placement than is normal-school standing at Paterson as expressed by official records.

The sources of data are these reports. The arrangement brings out facts as to whether the student is born in the United States or is of foreign birth; place of birth of each parent; nationality of each student and each parent; school rating classified into quartiles with "1" as the lowest and "4" as the highest ranking; positions secured.

The quartile ranking is taken as fairly indicative of teaching abilities; it considers scholarship as well as practical work; health as well as charm of personality; it is a composite judgment from many experts; it is based upon total points made in the school and is comparable with totals of all other students who complete the curriculum.

Positions secured are clearly shown in the office; no attention is paid to the length of time spent in securing the position, nor to changes in the positions. The study is limited to the fact that the students secured the positions.

The graduating class of June 1930 is taken as the sample for study. Over two years have elapsed since that date and two years give sufficient time for placement. A much longer time operates negatively for the student.

The graduating class of January 1930 is used as a check list to assist in making conclusions more clear. The one class has 77 students; the other has 72. The numbers are representative and are large enough to show past performances.

The facts are as follows:

Sample class June 1930

- Number of graduates June 1930—77
- Number born in the United States—77
- Both parents born in the United States—39
- Both parents foreign born—29
- Fathers only foreign born—5
- Mothers only foreign born—4

Foreign countries represented in order of frequency are: Russia, Italy, Germany, British Isles, Holland, Syria, Czechoslovakia, Austria, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Lithuania.

School ratings

- Of the 17 in the highest quartile, 10 are of American parentage
- Of the 19 in the next highest rank, 8 are of American parentage
- Of the 34 in the next lowest rank, 17 or half are of American parentage
- Of the 7 in the lowest rank, 4 are of American parentage

"American born" means "United States." In the matter of nativity the United States is slightly in the lead; in the matter of school ratings the United States and foreign countries divide 50-50. This gives a slight advantage of quality to countries other than the United States. No student was foreign born; their foreignness can only be attributed to the degree of removal from lands across the seas. Parentage, therefore, becomes a determining factor in this appraisal.

Positions secured

Positions—57; no positions—20

Of the 20 students in the class without positions, 6 are of American, 2 of British, and 2 others of Anglo-Saxon blood. Of these students, 10 are of Latin-Slavic origin. Of the Anglo-Saxon stock, 4 rank in the

lowest, 5 in the next lowest, and 1 rises to the third quartile. Of the Latin-Slavic stocks, 8 are in the second and 2 in the third quartiles. Of the twenty students not placed, the Anglo-Saxons apparently rank slightly lower in school ratings. More Anglo-Saxons are placed; with one exception, only the very poorest are left without positions. This one exception is a good student; belonging to a favored nationality has not helped her cause it seems. The difference in placement between the two groups is too small, however, to warrant any definite conclusions. Upon these figures no one need feel tempted to forsake claims of ancestry in order to get a position in this vicinity.

A check list composed of graduates of January 1930

Number of graduates of Paterson State Normal School, January

1930—72

Number of this group born in the United States—72

Both parents born in the United States—21

Both parents foreign born—39

Fathers only foreign born—10

Mothers only foreign born—2

Positions secured

Without positions—18 students, or 25 per cent

Of these without positions, 6 are of American parentage; 12 are of foreign parentage

Rankings of students without positions

The third quartile has 3 students; their parentage is Russian, Polish, Italian

Of the 11 students in the second quartile, 8 are of foreign, 2 of American, and 1 of Anglo-Saxon parentage

Of the 4 students in the first or lowest rank, 1 is of American, 2 of foreign Anglo-Saxon, and 1 of Russian parents.

The facts seem to show that in spite of the smaller number of students who claim the United States as the birthplace of parents, the chances of positions are in favor of this country. The higher rankings of foreign stock unplaced bear out this conclusion.

Let us take this slight indication of a trend in practice and compare it with some notes from the field. A faculty member

of the Normal School, who has charge of graduate placement, furnished a statement as to the success of his work. Of all the unplaced students of previous years who have applied for assistance within the past ten months, forty-six are still unplaced. Thirty of these have refused to leave home for several reasons, religion being the one most frequently assigned. Their own schools have no vacancies and they prefer to pursue a policy of watchful waiting rather than to go to places where they cannot enter fully into the religious life of those with whom they work.

Unattractive personalities have interfered with employment of six, four of whom have low school rating. In ten cases religion has been a bar to appointment; however, what one community desires another may reject; the difficulty seems to consist of pairing acceptances with rejections.

This contribution from an official brings a degree of confirmation to the claims of critics mentioned in the opening paragraph of this study. The evidence, however, points to the truth that the mind of the applicant as well as the mind of the appointive authority allows nationality or religion to be a deciding factor.

The question has not been answered; the problem has not been solved. In order to deal with it adequately, graduating classes over a number of years in different localities should be selected for analysis. In the choice of data home boys and girls, whether they accept positions at home or refuse to leave home, should be eliminated. Only those who earnestly desire to teach, regardless of location, provided it be reasonably good, should be considered; only those positions which are closed to home students should be included. Even with these conditions provided, we would still be confronted with those incalculable factors—personality, political opportunism, and other relationships which muddy the stream of thought. However, a clearer

estimate could be drawn from the above set-up than is portrayed in this study. It would be interesting at this time to know whether or not a chosen few are being specially favored, and, if so, who these favored ones are; also what specific claims they can put forth for the good fortune which enables them to succeed where their fellow strugglers fail.

Until a thorough piece of work of this kind has been done we shall rest in the belief that students are not altogether different from the rest of mankind. Our failures do not always arise from prejudices and circumstances that lie without; they frequently arise from causes that lie within.

MEASURING THE EFFECT OF A SOCIAL FORCE¹

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For some time there has been some controversy in the public mind concerning the influence of certain courses of higher education upon the religious concepts of young people. Modern education has been accused by some of "destroying the religion of our youth." By others it is hailed as the "truth which shall make ye free." There are thus two extremes of religious opinion. The one holding the fundamental, orthodox views of the early church in which the anthropomorphic concepts of a God made after our own image predominate, and the other, discarding these notions, holding that many attributes of the Divine Power are impossible and that the rest can be explained by the natural laws of science. Between these two views which we will call the orthodox and the agnostic is found a range of fairly fixed opinions which can be quite definitely located.

Religious opinion is based upon certain fundamental concepts about which persons in all walks of life have a fairly definite notion. Such words as God, sin, prayer, Heaven, creation, and soul are common and beliefs concerning them are fairly definite in the mind of any one individual, though they may vary considerably between different individuals.

We also find as part of our mores a system of education measured by years and ranging from the simple and elementary up through high school and college where it becomes what we call "higher" education. The controversy in question is whether or not this higher education as provided in our colleges conditions the religious thinking of those exposed to it, and if so to what extent.

¹ Much of the data are taken from an unpublished master's thesis: *Investigation of Influence of Higher Education Upon Religious Concepts*, by Ramona S. Hibbs, Colorado State Teachers College, 1931.

Accepting the definition of a force as that which produces a change, education may be conceived as a social force producing a social change. Certain kinds of education then, acting upon society, may produce certain kinds of changes in the religious concepts of that society. The courses in our colleges which would most definitely influence religious thinking are anthropology, biology, geology, philosophy, psychology, and sociology. To these may be added astronomy, chemistry, and physics.

Our problem may now be stated thus: What has been the influence of higher education which includes the above courses upon the religious thinking of the students taking such courses?

Procedure: The first step was to interview many people of differing educational status, vocations, and interests. From these interviews it was learned that the diverse views and religious beliefs centered around certain common concepts and that each individual's beliefs were fairly definite in his own mind. The most common concepts were: God, prayer, Bible, Jesus Christ, creation, and immortality.

Since the data sought had to be derived from a large and varied field the questionnaire was resorted to. This was arranged in the form of questions on each concept so placed that they formed a scale of interpretations ranging from the most naïve and orthodox to the most unorthodox and atheistic. In order to maintain uniformity, five questions were asked concerning each concept. Each question thus indicates a step or interval in the belief of each individual and the numerical number of the step may be assumed as a measure of the distance from the naïve. In other words, each set of questions becomes a scale upon which is located the belief or opinion held.

Accompanying these scales was a blank in which the age, sex, major, year in school, church preference, credit hours in anthropology, biology, geology, philosophy, psychology, and sociology were asked for. The scales were first submitted to the local

ministerial association to determine their accuracy and validity. After revision, they were submitted to three professors of English for clarity of expression and ambiguous terms. The final revision was then tested upon a nonselected group whose ages and educational status were comparable to those to whom the questions were to be sent. This group gave indications that the technique was practical.

After previously securing the coöperation of teachers of sociology in colleges, universities, and high schools by means of letters of explanation, the questionnaires were distributed. The replies, numbering 573, could easily be cast into three groups as follows: (1) collegiate, those received from State universities, State agricultural colleges, teachers colleges, and private colleges. These numbered 425. (2) Those received from high schools, mostly from the senior class; 95 were received. (3) A noncollegiate group numbering 53. These were factory workers, store clerks, and farm laborers who were of college age but had not had more than high-school training. Replies were received from eleven States and thirteen different institutions.

The following tables list the number of replies to each question by groups and the average number of total student hours in anthropology, biology, geology, psychology, philosophy, and sociology. These, of course, apply only to the collegiate group.

TABLE I
Concepts of God

	NUMBER OF REPLIES			AVERAGE HOURS IN COLLEGE SUBJECTS
	Noncollege	High School	College	
I. I believe that God is a being having the form of man and pos- sessing the emotions of a loving father	32	33	71	13.4

	NUMBER OF REPLIES			AVERAGE HOURS IN COLLEGE SUBJECTS
	Noncollege	High School	College	
II. I believe that God is a spirit devoid of definite form, who is responsible for the origin and operation of a plan of the universe . . .	19	45	243	16.7
III. I believe that God is eternal energy through which the forces of nature operate	2	12	69	24.6
IV. I believe that God is a concept developed with the evolution of man	0	5	38	22.0
V. I do not believe in any form of divine power, any plan, or any scheme	0	0	4	40.2
Total	53	95	425	
Correlation: $r = +.95 \pm .003$				

TABLE II
Concepts of Prayer

I. I believe that prayer can alter the natural order of events. It can work actual miracles	33	22	101	15.4
II. I believe that prayer alters the natural order of events only when the changes would bring benefits to some and harm to none . . .	15	21	66	15.2
III. I believe that prayer affects humanity only to the extent that it promotes peace of mind and contentment of soul as the Will of God	5	48	217	15.0
IV. I believe that prayer affects only the individual offering it, and that it is in no way a communication with a deity	0	3	31	24.0

	NUMBER OF REPLIES			AVERAGE HOURS IN COLLEGE SUBJECTS
	Noncollege	High School	College	
V. I believe that prayer is futile— absolutely ineffective	0	1	2	80.00
	—	—	—	
Total	53	95	417	

Correlation: $r = +.59 \pm .02$

TABLE III

Concepts of the Bible

I. I believe that all the Bible is of divine origin, all parts are of equal value, and that it is the truth un- mistakable	12	15	22	14.0
II. I believe that the Bible is an inspired book, literally true, and that the authors were divinely guided when they wrote it . . .	37	43	148	13.6
III. I believe that the Bible is fig- uratively true, written by righteous, inspired prophets	4	20	114	21.1
IV. I believe that the Bible is a historical document showing the development of the religious expe- riences of a people and revealing some truth.	0	16	127	22.8
V. I regard the Bible as no differ- ent from any other great piece of literature	0	0	5	40.8
	—	—	—	
Total	53	94	416	

Correlation: $r = +.80 \pm 0.17$

TABLE IV

Concepts of Jesus Christ

I. I believe that Jesus Christ was
"the only begotten Son of God,"

	NUMBER OF REPLIES			AVERAGE HOURS IN COLLEGE SUBJECTS
	Noncollege	High School	College	
born of a virgin and without a human father	32	29	142	17.5
II. I believe that Jesus Christ was born of human parents but was Godsent for the express purpose of redeeming the world	18	42	156	16.2
III. I believe that Jesus Christ's birth and childhood were normal but that when he developed he was called by God to redeem humanity	2	11	54	20.6
IV. I believe that Jesus Christ was a sincere and noble man, the founder of the Christian religion but neither divinely conceived nor inspired	0	10	63	29.0
V. I believe that Jesus Christ was but a mythical character	0	0	6	29.8
Total	52	92	421	
Correlation: $r = +.90 \pm .006$				

TABLE V
Concepts of Creation

I. I believe that God personally molded the first man from the dust of the earth and the first woman from the man's rib in the manner described in the first chapter of Genesis	39	45	108	13.6
II. I believe that God personally created the present form of man in His image but that the process is unknown	12	23	90	14.5
III. I believe that man evolved				

	NUMBER OF REPLIES			AVERAGE HOURS IN COLLEGE SUBJECTS
	Noncollege	High School	College	
from a simple to a complex form through a plan designed by God	1	11	77	18.4
IV. I believe that all life originated from simple sources and that the development was the result of either divine or natural law or both	0	15	136	24.9
V. I believe that neither the origin nor the development of man was the result of any higher power .	0	1	6	44.0
Total	52	95	417	
Correlation: $r = +.89 \pm .006$				

TABLE VI
Concepts of Immortality

I. I believe that at the resurrection our bodies will be returned to life, that our memories and consciousnesses will be intact, and that we will be destined to places we call heaven, purgatory, and hell . .	27	37	71	12.7
II. I believe that at death the soul becomes a spiritual body and lives in a state we call heaven, purgatory, and hell	20	31	163	16.8
III. I believe in conditional immortality, that eternal life is awarded only to those who have attained a certain degree of spirituality	4	9	71	17.5
IV. I believe in the immortality of influence, that we live only in the memories of future generations	0	16	96	25.7

	NUMBER OF REPLIES			AVERAGE HOURS IN COLLEGE SUBJECTS
	Noncollege	High School	College	
V. I do not believe in any form of immortality	1	0	10	29.4
Total	52	93	411	

Correlation: $r = +.97 \pm .0019$

In order to determine the reliability of the answers of the collegiate group, their replies to each step in the scale were correlated with the average number of hours in the college subjects listed. In all the concepts this correlation is exceptionally significant and shows that the students took the questions seriously and were conscientious in their answers. This conclusion is further confirmed by the comments made at the end of the questionnaires.

Since the universe from which this sampling was drawn is fairly uniform the answers may be taken as fairly representative of the collegiate group. Since they show a decided change of opinion towards the unorthodox as the average number of hours increases, this must be due to the content of the courses studied. These courses thus become a social force producing changes in religious opinion away from naïve thinking and in the direction of scientific thinking.

Table VII shows that those of the collegiate group who answered question I had an average of but 14.4 hours in the subjects listed. They constituted 21 per cent of the whole group. Those who had had 15.5 hours answered question II as their belief. They constituted 35 per cent of the group. Those who favored question III had had 19.6 hours. Those who indicated question IV had had 24.7 hours, while those who listed an average of 44 hours subscribed to question V, though they constituted but 1 per cent of the total number.

When this influence of social-science courses is checked against the two control groups, and especially the noncollegiate, the force becomes definitely apparent. Here 95 per cent of the noncollegiate and 68 per cent of the high-school groups subscribed to the first two questions.

TABLE VII
*Percentage of the Total Number of Answers Each Step in the
Scale Received*
Listed by Groups

STEPS IN SCALE	NONCOLLEGE	HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE	AVERAGE HOURS IN COLLEGE SUBJECTS	CUMULATIVE HOURS
1	56	32	21	14.4	—
2	39	36	35	15.5	1.1
3	5	20	24	19.6	5.2
4	0	11	19	24.7	10.3
5	0	1	1	44.0	29.6

The unit by which courses of study are measured in colleges and universities is the hour, based upon one period of recitation and study per week per semester or term. For the purposes of this study term hours were reduced to semester hours. Returning to the collegiate group it becomes apparent that the addition of 1.1 hours changes belief from step I to step II, that 4.1 more hours of study in the courses listed changes belief to step III, that 5.1 more hours changes belief to step IV, and that if 19.3 more hours be added the student subscribes to step V. It thus requires 29.6 hours in the subjects listed to change a student from the naïve conceptions of step I to the sophisticated or more scientific concepts of step V. The first 14.4 hours probably make some changes in the thinking of students but not sufficient to be noted on so rough a scale. It is also evident that the steps are not equally distant. The interval between steps I and II is 1.1, while between steps II and III it is 4.1, and between IV and

It is 19.3. Theoretically, if not actually, a scale could be devised which would designate intervals of 1 hour of study in the courses listed.

In this study it must be kept in mind that in the collegiate group replies were received from students with wide and varied interests. There were majors from all the departments usually found in our universities. Agriculture, engineering, home economics, and liberal-arts majors were about equally numbered. The effectiveness of the instruction as a social force is shown by the correlations between the number of hours and the steps in the scales. Obviously the instruction would be more effective on some of the concepts than on others. Prayer, for example, has a positive correlation of $+ .59 \pm .02$ as compared with immortality with a correlation of $+ .97 \pm .0019$. In all cases the correlations are positive and indicate that as the number of hours of instruction in the courses listed increases the belief inclines to the scientific point of view.

TABLE VIII

Correlation Between Number of Student Hours and Steps in the Scales

CONCEPTS	CORRELATIONS
God	$r = + .95 \pm .003$
Prayer	$r = + .59 \pm .02$
Bible	$r = + .80 \pm .017$
Christ	$r = + .90 \pm .006$
Creation	$r = + .89 \pm .006$
Immortality	$r = + .97 \pm .0019$
Average	$r = + .85 \pm .008$

Large studies using some such techniques as this would be very valuable in such fields as politics, social service, economic status, or any area where it would be desirable to know fairly accurately the condition of public opinion. In the past sociologists have been content to analyze social activity by a process of logic

and tell us what the ideal society should be. Now we should learn the status quo by scientific methods and apply sociometric techniques to the attainment of those ideals. Too long have sociologists been content to philosophize. Had there been a worthy successor to Ward to take up the analysis of society where he laid it down sociology would now be far advanced on the road to quantitative and, therefore, exact social analysis.

The author fully recognizes the crudity, incompleteness, and lack of conclusiveness in the above study and presents it solely as a suggestive technique in quantitative sociology.

RESEARCH IN COMMUNITY LIFE¹

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The social survey has served its purpose in its day, but out of it have now grown more satisfactory means of measuring social-phenomena functioning within a community. The application of the scientific method to the study of the community has lifted our technique out of the realm of superficiality and uncertain approaches to more comprehensive and thorough studies. The sociological approach to the study of a community, I think, has great possibilities, though as yet, it is still in its infancy. The concepts of the sociological approach, as distinctive of all others, appear to be based upon synthetic objectives. This approach implies a study of the whole of society in a particular region rather than merely isolated detached parts. All the forces that can be located are studied from every related angle. A knowledge of the total situation is necessary before any phase of that social situation can be understood. Too often in community work attempts at social control arise from ignorant good will rather than from the facts of the situation. This approach utilizes the best in all other methods and focuses attention on the program at hand. It is concerned with origins, developments, structure and functions, and social objectives rather than special disciplines which approach the study of the community with particular interests. It is well known that no part of the community life can be understood without seeing it in its relation to the whole. In other words, we cannot understand the community by studying any one or a few parts of the functioning process. The economic, political, social, ethical, religious, psychological, historical, educational, and all other parts of the

¹ This article was published in lengthier form in the May-June 1934 issue of *Sociology and Social Research* under the title of "Approaches to Methods of Community Study."

whole must be studied and interpreted in terms of the whole. The survey, as well as most other approaches to community study, is a diagnosis of problem situations rather than studies of the vast work of social relationships which constitute the very life of the community. It has as another goal the achievement of some immediate practical purpose rather than the formulation of conclusions about local group life in general.

The newer emphasis in this larger approach to the study of the community is known as human ecology. The possibilities of this approach were presented by Ratzel, Brunches, and others long before McKenzie, Park, and Mukerjee began to advertise its possibilities to American sociologists. Studies in human ecology which have to do with the distribution of groups and institutions and their adjustment to the environment are becoming more numerous. It is true the various elements of the technique have not yet been ironed out. Since McKenzie in 1921 published the results of his study of Columbus, Ohio, Burgess's study of zones, and Mowrer's areas of family disorganization, attention has been centered more on his approach, especially in the study of urban communities.

In our studies in Omaha we have endeavored to apply this approach and to determine as far as possible the correlations between all these social factors. We have just begun the main synthetic study. So far, we have followed the political unit, the city ward. Twenty-four maps, locating objectively the data on as many different situations, have been completed. So far, a very close correlation has been found between the classes of data covered. For instance, regions or wards showing greatest amount of mobility also show a corresponding high rate of delinquency, poverty, density of population, truancy, children working, community disorganization, family disorganization, and a lack of Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and other so-called character-building agencies. As one of these factors tends to change, all the others

tend to fluctuate in the same course. The curves are in harmony with each other. One exception has been noted so far, and that is with the ward made up largely of Negro inhabitants. Mobility remains low, due to lack of choice and general contentment, while the other factors remained variable. Through our Bureau of Social Research, we are endeavoring to keep these maps in a constant stage of revision and thus by so doing determine the processes and trends involved.

After looking at the larger community, the city, as a whole, we are attempting more localized studies of the individual wards as ecological units. We have begun with Ward Seven. A great deal of data have already been collected and we are now in the process of analysis and interpretation. This area represents a very definite community, as the life and activities of these 19,000 people revolve around and center in the packing-plant industry. Including the yards and physical plants, this area occupies about one fourth of the entire geographical area. The plants employ over 10,000 people. This ward has had a colorful history and one which is of great interest to the student of social forces. This was obtained by interviews with old residents, study of newspaper files, and the history of leading industries of the city of Omaha. The nationality groups have frequently shifted in location and have changed many times depending on the needs and development of the packing industry. After securing the history of the community, an analysis of the population was made. For this, the school and election-bureau records and census data were valuable. The health data were collected from dispensaries, visiting-nurse associations, county hospitals, city and county health departments, private hospitals, school nurses, insurance companies, health departments of the five packing plants, tuberculosis associations, and church officials. The economic status of the community, juvenile delinquency, adult crime, truancy, relief work, educational activities, religious life, character-build-

ing agencies, recreational facilities—private and commercial—mobility, density of population, housing, size of families, family disorganization, racial groupings, and other factors that concern the behavior of these people were carefully studied after the data were collected from available sources, as illustrated by the health sources that were utilized. They were analyzed in terms of each other and in their relation to the entire city. Social distances between social and racial groups were discovered. Culture patterns of various groups were revealed, some of which were resulting in conflicts, others in diffusion. Time does not permit a discussion of the findings, except to point out that a close correlation between all the data was noted. Causative factors present in one situation were present in some degree in all others. For instance, one could not understand the crime situation without drawing causative factors from the other situations as well as the history of the community in the light of its geographical and environmental setting. It is obvious that in order to understand the community, sociologically, one must study it from every angle possible. One must see the community as a whole. In this way the community becomes one big case study, not only historically but every other way.

The community may be studied from the standpoint of culture analysis. Developed originally by the anthropologists, the technique of culture analysis as a means of studying a community has recently been applied to immigrant communities. The methods used in such studies include visits to immigrant colonies and their homes, personal observation, interviews, written inquiries, attendance on meetings, utilization of newspapers, letters, diaries, and, still better, actual living with the groups.

The region will in time, no doubt, become the larger unit of investigation of community life and the basis of more extensive studies. It will, in turn, be subdivided for more detailed study into smaller ecological units.

COMPARATIVE HIGH-SCHOOL PERSISTENCE OF PUPILS FROM VILLAGE AND RURAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

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It is a fact that some country youths have persevered from a little red schoolhouse to the proud White House. Mark Hopkins has immortalized the log, and the sentimentalist has envisioned his children trailing clouds of glory from the lowly log to the vaulted skies. Yet, it was Carlyle who once said, "The barrenest of all mortals is the sentimentalist." The present study presumes to apply the method of science to Carlyle's dictum as it pertains to the little red schoolhouse. Is there a difference in high-school persistence between pupils from village elementary schools and from rural elementary schools? An answer to this question should have significant value in terms of the present tendency to enlarge the school unit.

The present study involves 193 village and 196 rural pupils in and near three typical villages in New York State—Clifton Springs, Phelps, Moira. Clifton Springs has a village population of 1,725 and a school population of 350; Phelps has a village population of 1,400 and a school population of 365; Moira has a village population of 800 and a school population of 200. Schools in these villages are organized under the 8-4 plan. The study covered the period 1910-1931, inclusive. Only those pupils were used in the study who, following elementary graduation, had been enrolled in one of the village high schools. Random sampling was secured through the alphabetical selec-

tion of pupils. Factors of persistence used in the study are: age at time of elementary-school graduation, high-school elimination, age at time of elimination, time spent in high school, number of Regents subjects passed before elimination, high-school graduation, age at time of high-school graduation, entrance to advanced schools, type of advanced school entered.

FACTOR I: Age at Time of Elementary-School Graduation

TABLE I
*Comparative Chronological Ages of Village and Rural Pupils
at Time of Elementary-School Graduation*

AGE	VILLAGE PUPILS			RURAL PUPILS		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
11 . . .	1		1			
12 . . .	7	8	15	4	8	12
13 . . .	30	29	59	22	25	47
14 . . .	33	33	66	18	31	49
15 . . .	10	17	27	24	24	48
16 . . .	12	7	19	14	15	29
17 . . .	2	3	5	2	7	9
18 . . .	1		1		1	1
19 . . .				1		1
Total	96	97	193	85	111	196
Range	11-18	12-17	11-18	12-19	12-18	12-19
Mean	13.97	13.95	13.96	14.39	14.34	14.36

Table I shows that the mean age of village pupils at the time of elementary-school graduation is 13.96 years; of rural pupils, 14.36 years. This difference gives the village pupil a distinct advantage of 5 months in his educational career. It is interesting that the mean ages of boys and girls in the same group are practically the same. For the village group, the difference is .02; for the rural group, .05.

Table II shows that of 193 village pupils entering high school, 81 or 41.97 per cent left before graduation; of 196

rural pupils entering high school, 107 or 54.59 per cent left before graduation. The difference, unfavorable to the rural

FACTOR II: High-School Elimination

TABLE II

Comparative High-School Elimination of Village and Rural Pupils

SEX	VILLAGE PUPILS			RURAL PUPILS		
	No.	No.	Per Cent	No.	No.	Per Cent
	Entering H. S.	Leaving H. S.	Leaving H. S.	Entering H. S.	Leaving H. S.	Leaving H. S.
Boys	96	41	42.71 \pm 3.4	85	56	65.88 \pm 3.4
Girls	97	40	41.24 \pm 3.4	111	51	45.95 \pm 3.2
Total	193	81	41.97 \pm 2.4	196	107	54.59 \pm 2.4

group, is 12.62 per cent. Elimination is approximately equal for members of both sexes in the village group. In the rural group, much greater elimination occurs among the boys. The fact that only approximately one third of rural boys entering high school remain to graduate is appalling. This condition is a strong indication of our vaunted program of universal secondary education.

Table III shows that the mean age of village pupils at time of leaving high school is 17.53; of rural pupils, 16.76 years. The average village pupil is slightly more than 9 months older than the rural pupil when he leaves high school. The average village girl is 1.1 years older than the rural girl when she leaves high school. The village boy is 5½ months older than the rural boy when he leaves school. Such a small difference is surprising when the apparent demands for boy labor on the farm are considered. It is also startling that rural girls leave school almost as early as rural boys. An examination of the mean elimination ages for rural pupils shows that they do not remain long after the arrival of the compulsory age limit of 16. It should be observed that the range of elimination for the village group is 15-19; for the rural group, 14-20 years.

FACTOR III: Age at Time of Elimination

TABLE III

Age of Village and Rural Pupils at Time of High-School Elimination

AGE	VILLAGE PUPILS			RURAL PUPILS		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
13 . . .				1		1
14 . . .				4	1	5
15 . . .	5	8	13	9	9	18
16 . . .	10	10	20	13	11	24
17 . . .	10	14	24	12	13	25
18 . . .	8	5	13	10	11	21
19 . . .	8	3	11	4	3	7
20 . . .				3	3	6
Total	41	40	81	56	51	107
Range	15-19	15-19	15-19	13-20	14-20	13-20
Mean	17.10	17.98	17.53	16.64	16.88	16.76

FACTOR IV: Time Spent in High School

TABLE IV

Number of Years Spent in High School Before Elimination by Village and Rural Pupils

YEARS IN H. S.	VILLAGE PUPILS			RURAL PUPILS		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
0	1	1	2	3	2	5
1	6	9	15	21	22	43
2	15	23	38	10	14	24
3	9	3	12	17	8	25
4	5	4	9	4	3	7
5	3		3	1	2	3
6	2		2			
Total	41	40	81	56	51	107
Range	0-6	0-4	0-6	0-5	0-5	0-5
Mean	2.68	2.00	2.35	2.02	1.88	1.95

Table IV shows that village pupils spend .4 of a school year more in high school before elimination than rural pupils. The mean for village pupils is 2.35 years; for rural pupils, 1.95 years. The mean for the village boys is 2.68 years as compared with 2.02 for rural boys; for village girls, 2 years as compared with 1.88 years for rural girls. The data reveal that 2 village pupils spent 6 years in school, while no rural pupil spent more than 5 years before leaving. A detailed examination of Table IV reveals that the greater elimination for the village group occurs after two years in high school while for the rural group, elimination is greatest after one year.

FACTOR V: Number of Regents Subjects Passed Before Elimination:

TABLE V
Number of New York State Regents Subjects Passed by Village and Rural Pupils Before Elimination

NO. OF SUBJECTS	VILLAGE PUPILS			RURAL PUPILS		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
0	8	7	15	14	19	33
1	11	12	23	13	12	25
2	7	10	17	12	10	22
3	3	6	9	10	1	11
4	2	1	3	3	4	7
5	4	1	5	3	2	5
6	4	2	6	1	3	4
7	1		1			
8						
9	1	1	2			
Total	41	40	81	56	51	107
Range	0-9	0-9	0-9	0-6	0-6	0-6
Mean	2.49	2.00	2.25	1.79	1.55	1.67

Table V shows clearly that village pupils complete considerably more Regents work than rural pupils. The mean for all vil-

lage pupils is 2.25 Regents subjects; for rural pupils, 1.67 Regents subjects. Separate data for village and rural boys, respectively, are 2.49 and 1.79; for village and rural girls, 2.00 and 1.55, respectively.

In Table IV, it was shown that the mean number of years spent in high school before elimination was 2.68 for village boys and 2.00 for village girls. In Table V, it is shown that the number of subjects passed is 2.49 for village boys and 2.00 for village girls. From a comparison of the above data, it is evident that for the village group the ratio between the number of subjects passed before elimination and the number of years spent in high school before elimination is approximately 1.00. This relationship holds for boys and girls separately and for totals. A similar comparison for the rural pupils gives a ratio of approximately .75. It appears reasonable to conclude that the rural pupils have achieved roughly only three fourths as much as village pupils in corresponding time. In terms of objective results, the rural pupils have been only three fourths as persistent in their quest for knowledge.

FACTOR VI: High-School Graduation

TABLE VI
Comparative Number of Village and Rural Pupils Graduating from High School

SEX	VILLAGE PUPILS			RURAL PUPILS		
	No.	No.	Per Cent	No.	No.	Per Cent
	Entering H. S.	Completing H. S.	Completing H. S.	Entering H. S.	Completing H. S.	Completing H. S.
Boys	96	55	57.29 \pm 3.4	85	29	34.12 \pm 3.5
Girls	97	57	58.76 \pm 3.4	111	60	54.05 \pm 3.2
Total	193	112	58.03 \pm 2.4	196	89	45.41 \pm 2.4

Table VI shows that 58.03 per cent of the village group graduate from high school, but only 45.41 per cent of the rural group

graduate. In terms of persistence as shown by high-school graduation, the village group excels the rural group by 12.62 per cent. The most striking feature of these data is the difference in percentages between the boys of each group. In the village group, 23.17 per cent more of the boys graduate. Only 4.71 per cent more of the village girls graduate than the rural girls. The percentage of the boys and girls graduating in the village group is practically the same, but 19.93 per cent more rural girls graduate than boys. The data of this section present a definite challenge to provide an educational program adapted to the needs and interests of rural boys.

FACTOR VII: Age at Time of High-School Graduation

TABLE VII

Comparative Age of Village and Rural Pupils Graduating from High School

AGE	VILLAGE PUPILS			RURAL PUPILS		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
15	1		1			
16	4	4	8	3	8	11
17	12	18	30	8	14	22
18	25	23	48	8	13	21
19	5	10	15	8	17	25
20	5	2	7	2	4	6
21	1		1		3	3
22	2		2		1	1
Total	55	57	112	29	60	89
Range	15-22	16-20	15-22	16-20	16-22	16-22
Mean	18.05	17.79	17.92	17.93	18.13	18.07

Table VII shows a negligible difference between village pupils and rural pupils in the age of completing high school. When the girls are considered separately, it is observed that the village girls are .34 of a year younger than the rural girls. Data in Table VII when considered in connection with preceding data

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reveal that the rural pupils who persevere to graduation represent a higher selection of their group than the village graduates from their respective group. Other data on elimination not included in this report substantiate this point of view. A detailed examination of the data in Table VII shows that 77.7 per cent of the village pupils had graduated by 18 years of age, but only 60.7 per cent of the rural pupils; a greater percentage of the rural pupils had graduated by 16 years of age than the village pupils. The extreme ages in the village group are represented by the boys, while the extremes in the rural group are represented by the girls.

FACTOR VIII: Entrance to Advanced Schools

TABLE VIII
*Comparative Number of Village and Rural Pupils Entering
Advanced Schools*

SEX	VILLAGE PUPILS			RURAL PUPILS		
	No. Grad. from H. S.	No. Ent. Adv. Schls.	Per Cent	No. Grad. from H. S.	No. Ent. Adv. Schls.	Per Cent
Boys	55	34	61.8±4.4	29	13	44.8±6.2
Girls	57	43	75.4±3.8	60	41	68.3±4.0
Total	112	77	68.7±3.0	89	54	60.7±3.5

Table VIII shows that 8 per cent more high-school graduates among village pupils enter advanced schools. Among the village pupils 13.6 per cent more girls than boys enter advanced schools. A similar condition exists between rural boys and girls; only 44.8 per cent of rural boys enter advanced schools, while 68.3 per cent of rural girls continue their education. This percentage of rural girls compares quite favorably with the percentage for village girls. The comparatively small percentage of rural male graduates entering advanced schools presents an interesting problem.

Table IX shows that 48 per cent or nearly half of the village

pupils enter college, while 24.4 per cent or approximately one fourth of the rural pupils enter college. Six village pupils enter normal school as compared with 13 rural pupils. Fifteen village pupils and 9 rural pupils entered business schools. Further data indicated that 7 of the village pupils planned to teach in the

FACTOR IX: Type of Advanced School Entered

TABLE IX

Types of Advanced School Entered by Village and Rural Pupils

TYPE OF SCHOOL	VILLAGE PUPILS			RURAL PUPILS		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
College	24	13	37	9	4	13
Normal school	1	5	6		13	13
Training class		1	1		10	10
Business school	5	10	15	3	6	9
Hospital	1	8	9		6	6
Dental dispensary		1	1		1	1
Embalming school	1		1			
School of music		1	1		1	1
Institutes	2	3	5			
Missionary school		1	1			
Agricultural school				1		1
Total	34	43	77	13	41	54

elementary school, one of which was a boy. In the rural group, 23 selected elementary-grade teaching as a vocation, all of whom were girls. This study indicates a tendency of rural high-school graduates towards rural teaching. In general, the village group selected a wider range of activity for their training. Cheaper advanced training seems to have influenced the rural pupils in their selection of a vocation.

SUMMARY

1. In general, pupils from village elementary schools exhibit considerably greater persistence in the various elements of this study than pupils from rural elementary schools.

2. There was 12.6 per cent greater elimination in the rural group than in the village group.

3. Village boy drop-outs spend on the average 2.68 years in high school before leaving; village girl drop-outs, 2.02 years. Corresponding data for rural pupils are 2.00 and 1.88, respectively.

4. For the village group, the greatest elimination comes after two years; for the rural group, after one year.

5. In both groups, boys in general leave school earlier than girls.

6. Rural boys ranked highest in elimination, with 65.88 per cent.

7. A definite relationship exists between high-school achievement and persistence.

8. Village pupils on the average earn the eighth-grade certificate five months earlier than rural pupils.

9. In terms of high-school graduation, the village group surpasses the rural group by 12.6 per cent. Difference in age at time of graduation between the two groups is negligible.

10. Village drop-outs complete a greater number of Regents subjects than rural drop-outs. In the case of village pupils, the ratio between the time spent in high school and the commensurate number of Regents subjects passed is approximately 1.00; for rural pupils, the ratio is .75.

11. Village drop-outs are on the average nine months older than rural drop-outs.

12. The average rural drop-out leaves school soon after the compulsory age limit.

13. A higher percentage of village pupils enter advanced schools. Girls of both groups excel boys in this respect.

"WORDS," "CODES," AND "TRAITS" IN CHARACTER EDUCATION

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Character education is suffering at the hands of its friends. The new interest which has recently arisen in the field of character education is resulting in a flood of new "plans," "organizations," and "methods" in this field which threaten to engulf us. Without doubt these various schemes are directed and sponsored by persons whose motives are sincere, but whose zeal, unfortunately, outweighs their knowledge. Investigation reveals the fact that few character-education plans in vogue today are able to stand up under the relentless scrutiny of the character-education specialist.¹

It is little short of pathetic to observe the genuine sincerity and *naïveté* with which the instigators of many of these plans publish them to the world. The chief equipment which many of these persons possess is a pious wish to engage in character building and a group of children who cannot escape, let it be in public school, religious school, or club. These enthusiasts are delving into the problem of character education utterly oblivious to the importance of expert knowledge of the subject and totally unmindful of the extreme delicacy of the human mechanisms with which they are dealing. Perhaps the two greatest services which the character-education specialist could render at the present time would be, first, somehow to convince these overenthusiastic persons that the development of character is a highly complicated process, to be conducted only under the direction of those who have been technically trained in the field and, second, to make available in nontechnical language to those who are

¹ For a critical review of prevailing plans and methods of character education, see Hugh Hartshorne's *Character in Human Relations*, Part I (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), XIV + 367 pages.

responsible for the training of children the approved principles upon which a sound character development should rest.

All of us in the past have been guilty of teaching what we knew very little about. Next to the man who knows, we honor him who knows that he doesn't know, while the most dangerous are those who know not, but know not that they know not. The writer hastens to state that our most profound students of character education quite willingly place themselves in the category of those who know not but know that they know not. Nevertheless, a sufficient body of experimental data have been accumulated in recent years to justify us in asserting in all humility that there are certain principles relating to the field of character development about which we are fairly certain and which are supported by a reasonable amount of objective evidence. It is to the discussion of these data that this paper is devoted.

There are certain conceptions of character education which are current today that are not in accord with our present knowledge of character development. The first of these erroneous conceptions which will be discussed is *that talking to children about character development will result in character growth*.

Talking to children about conduct has become an obsession with most people who deal with children. Words, words, words have become a cheap substitute for sound methods of character training. The mother admonishes her child to love the right and abhor the wrong; the minister exhorts his flock to live the good life; the Sunday school teacher gathers about her a wiggling group of human dynamos and talks to them in a vain and misguided effort to direct their lives along approved lines, while school teachers and principals lecture children *en masse* upon the value of right conduct. Talking to children, or better, talking with them is not in itself to be condemned entirely. It may pave the way for action, but the fatal flaw in the "word process" of character training lies in the fact that the temptation is well-nigh

universal to depend exclusively upon words to guide conduct rather than upon the *action* which should follow words. If no immediate opportunity to act follows our words, then our words are sterile. Human beings are so constituted that when a desire to act is not satisfied, the act takes place in the imagination. The individual soon finds this a satisfying substitute for action. Hartshorne believes that even the story, taken by itself, probably does more harm than good in character education, since it encourages one's propensity "to indulge his imagination at the expense of his conduct."² Here it is that daydreaming with all of its demoralizing consequences may have its origin.

Probably the greatest single misfortune that has befallen our whole educational system is the widespread worship of words as a substitute for teaching. The belief that we can educate children by talking to them is deeply entrenched in the minds of teachers everywhere. In spite of the overwhelming evidence of the inadequacy of mere words in teaching, we have yet to learn that it is not what the teacher *says* but what the child *does* that educates him. Teaching consists in causing others to learn and learning is reacting. How greatly this point of view would reduce the number of real teachers we can only contemplate,

But this I plainly see,
That if talking were teaching
We all would pedagogues be.

Applying the above principles of character education, we know that children may be taught to recite certain words about conduct with no accompanying change in overt behavior. Objective evidence is not lacking to establish the fact that but slight correlation exists between moral knowledge and character. Hightower³ has shown that the correlation between Biblical knowledge and moral conduct is practically zero and in some

² *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

³ P. R. Hightower, *Biblical Information in Relation to Character and Conduct*. University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. III, No. 2, Iowa City, Ia.

cases it is negative, while Hartshorne and May⁴ quote experiments showing that classes which have been given an intensive course in the study of honesty were no more honest at the close of the course than before, and no more honest than the control group which had not taken the course. The Ten Commandments have been studied for thirty centuries and have been memorized by millions, yet he would be a brave soul, indeed, who would ask us to believe that this knowledge has yielded returns in improved moral conduct. Teaching character by precept has been outlawed both by the psychological laws of learning and by our actual experience, yet how reluctant we are to give it up!

Out of the attempt to teach character development by words has come the use of character codes. If the point of view previously expressed is sound we are in a position to challenge the so-called code method of character education. The basic idea of the code method seems to be that the learning of the words comprising the code will somehow be translated into good conduct. It is argued that the code, when memorized, creates a desirable attitude towards certain phases of conduct which forms the basis of character. No such results have been established experimentally. Moreover, attitudes imposed from without have the general effect of all propaganda; namely, a tendency to degrade personality.⁵ Healthy attitudes grow only out of experiences and cannot be safely imposed from without. The only healthy attitudes are those which are the product of the child's life contacts with school, home, and playgroup.

A further objection to conduct codes, including conduct slogans, lies in their extremely generalized nature. Brevity seems to be a characteristic of all codes, whereas it is held by students of character education that the characteristics of desirable conduct

⁴ Hugh Hartshorne and Mark A. May, *Studies in Deceit*. Book I of Character Education Inquiry, *Studies in the Nature of Character* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928), pp. 368-371.

⁵ Hugh Hartshorne, "How Can Ethical Attitudes be Taught?" *Proceedings of the Midwest Conference of the Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education*, 1932, p. 7.

in any field cannot be encompassed in a single word or phrase. The attempt to do so is sadly misleading and tends to distort the very nature of character development. Dewey says in this connection, "Moral and legal schemes that attempt the impossible in the way of definite formulation compensate for explicit strictness in some lines by implicit looseness in others. The only truly severe code is the one which foregoes codification, throwing responsibility for judging each case upon the agent concerned, imposing upon them the burden of discovery and adaptation."⁸ It may be said also that the acceptance of the code by the individual usually involves a definite and all-inclusive promise to obey the code. There is no doubt in the mind of the psychologist of the demoralizing effect upon character of unfulfilled promises and broken oaths. The oath, "upon my honor," when repeatedly broken, as it necessarily must be because boys are human, can result in nothing less than a weakening of moral character. In one of the widely used character codes the child is confronted by no less than forty definite promises, each beginning with the words "I will."

Closely associated with the character code is the trait method of developing character. In fact, the two are practically inseparable. The code sets up the objective to be attained while its attainment is secured by developing the particular trait with which it is associated. Here we meet intrenched tradition in all its glory. Belief in character traits has been the religion of moral teachers throughout all generations. The trait method of character education is all but universal today—in public school, religious school, and in boys' and girls' clubs. It will die hard for there is something so satisfying in the definiteness of purpose which it is so easy to express in the naming of the specific traits to be developed. What is so simple as to lay our plans to implant in the child those traits of honesty, courtesy, dependability, colip-

⁸ John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1922), p. 103.

eration, and all the rest? When the process has been completed, we have developed a being who possesses sterling character!

Hartshorne and May, although not the first to challenge the validity of the trait method of character development, were the first to establish objectively the principle of the specificity of conduct. Their findings give little comfort to the proponents of the trait theory. No evidence was found by these authors to indicate that consistency of conduct existed in children beyond that attributable to chance. In other words, children do not develop traits of character but habits of conduct, with little carry-over from one situation to another. To assume that conduct in a specific situation is the *result* of a trait which the actor possesses is to plunge us at once into a psychological absurdity. "Trait" is a name used to indicate the degree of consistency of conduct and is consequently the end product. It should in no sense be used to explain the cause of conduct. To assume that a trait exists as an entity from which flows conduct, good or bad, is but a belief in magic. To endeavor to implant the trait of honesty so that children will be honest, or the trait of courtesy in order to make them courteous is a hopeless mixture of cause and effect. The thermometer does not regulate the temperature nor does the crowing of the cock cause the sun to rise.

The theory of the transfer of training has been well understood by educators for many years but we have balked when it came to applying this knowledge to character education. Yet we are in possession of a sufficient body of experimental data today upon which we may state with a considerable degree of certainty that conduct is a function of the specific situation which confronts the actor and not a consequence of general training. If conduct situations possess common elements, then learning to function in one will influence conduct in the other, but let the common elements be wanting, as they usually are, and no prediction can be made from one situation to another.

Even though we agree that character traits are end products of character development, we shall still regard the conscious attempt to develop them as undesirable. In the first place, it is largely a waste of time to teach children that certain character traits are desirable.

"Every youngster of school age knows that he is supposed to be honest rather than to steal, that he is supposed to be polite rather than rude, that he is supposed to coöperate rather than be selfish, and so on. The trouble all comes in the application. It is not teaching a child anything new to teach him such a code of standards. What he needs is help in seeing the implications of such matters for daily living."⁷ What is needed is that children should learn how to meet specific situations and how to achieve specific responses, rather than to memorize conduct codes or to strive to attain certain abstract traits.

Moreover, the common list of "character traits" are not in themselves virtues, as has been shown by other writers on this subject. They may even become vices since the process of developing the trait often creates the tendency to overdevelop it. The overdevelopment of courtesy is exemplified in the historic incident of a certain young gallant who placed his velvet cloak in a mud puddle so that the queen might cross the puddle instead of walking around, and the overdevelopment of honesty, in another incident no less historic, of a future president of the United States, walking two miles (or was it five?), upon a dark and stormy night to return two cents in change taken by mistake from a widowed lady. And we shall always be able to refer to that classic example of moronic obedience of the boy who stood on the burning deck.

Furthermore, traits are not in themselves virtues because in the process of their development they often lose their moral significance. Trustworthiness, loyalty, obedience, helpfulness, and bravery are qualities as necessary to the successful gangster as to

⁷ Tenth Yearbook, Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, p. 47.

the boy scout. Thus it comes about that one may seek to develop many of the so-called valuable traits without in any way associating them with moral conduct and hence be no further along the road to the achievement of real character than before.⁸

This entire discussion brings us face to face with the much discussed question of direct moral instruction. It is difficult to see how a system of character education based upon words, codes, and traits can avoid being emphatically a direct method of character education. There are sound objections to the direct method and the tendency of present-day students seems to be distinctly away from it. Children may easily be led to form the habit of introspection and, as a consequence, withdraw within themselves, much to the detriment of their mental health. The old type of direct religious instruction has no doubt been responsible for an unmeasured amount of juvenile morbidity. The writer has discussed this problem in a previous article.⁹

Moreover, one of the grave difficulties in direct moral instruction is the tendency, especially among adolescents, to assume a contemptuous attitude towards a formal program of moral training. This is perhaps one of the important reasons for the decided falling off of Sunday school attendance as children emerge into adolescence.

The foregoing criticisms of prevailing methods of character education are based on the researches (but in some cases upon the opinion only) of recognized specialists in character education. It is the hope of the writer that these criticisms may result in bringing these methods under even more careful scrutiny, to the end that unsound methods of character education may be abandoned. It is time that we should cease toying with so vital a problem as character education and that we should strive with all earnestness to develop procedures that are psychologically and sociologically sound.

⁸ For an admirable presentation of the case against the trait method of character training, see the Tenth Yearbook, Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, pp. 44-50.

⁹ "Adolescent Religion in Relation to Mental Hygiene," *Religious Education*, XXVII (November 1932), 811-17.

MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDE CHANGES DURING AN INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN COLLEGE SOCIOLOGY

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The recognition that other than the factual or informational outcomes of instruction can be measured has been growing among educators during the past decade or two. It has come to be recognized that the acquisition of factual knowledge is most significantly evidenced by changes in attitudes and modes of conduct. While objective measurement of overt conduct encounters many difficulties, attitudes have of late been measured with reasonably high efficiency.

This article reports an investigation of attitude changes during a one-semester course in college sociology. Two sections of the University of Arkansas introductory course in sociology were the basis for the investigation during the first semester of 1931-1932. A 75-item test requiring student reactions to statements dealing with problems to be taken up during the course was prepared by the authors and filled out by the students at the beginning of the semester and again at the conclusion of the course. The following directions show the method by which the students indicated their attitudes towards the statements of the reaction test.

Directions: Indicate your opinion about each of the statements given below by drawing a circle around one of the numbers in the margin. The meaning of the numbers is as follows:

- $\textcircled{+2}$ +1 0 -1 -2 If you feel that the statement is utterly and unqualifiably true, so that no one who had a fairly good understanding of the subject could sincerely and honestly believe it false
- +2 $\textcircled{+1}$ 0 -1 -2 If you feel that it is probably true or true in large degree

- +2 +1 0 -1 -2 If you feel that it is quite undecided, an open question, or one upon which you are not ready to express an opinion
- +2 +1 0 -1 -2 If you feel that it is probably false or false in large degree
- +2 +1 0 -1 -2 If you feel that the statement is utterly and unqualifiably false, so that no one who had a fairly good understanding of the subject could sincerely and honestly believe it true

The number and percentage of students in agreement and disagreement with each statement were computed for both initial and final responses. For this purpose, +2 and +1 responses were taken to indicate agreement and -2 and -1 responses to represent disagreement. For 72 of the 75 items the responses obtained ranged from +2 to -2. Reactions to only three items, therefore, were restricted to four of the five possible types of response. Further evidence to show the controversial nature of the items and to illustrate that real differences of opinion existed was obtained from the size of the minority groups responding to each item. Agreement or disagreement was expressed by a group numbering less than eight per cent of all students for only seven of the 75 items.

A few items representative of those for which the greatest change from initial to final attitude occurred are given below.

Item	Response	Percentages	
		Initial	Final
Civilization may become so complex that it will break of its own weight.	Agree	27	58
Man's dependence upon religion is the result of a fear of the unknown—powers of the universe, what follows death, etc.	Agree	69	91
Immigration of oriental races into the United States should be permitted on the same basis as immigration of Europeans.	Disagree	63	82
Sterilization of the feeble-minded and other			

<i>Item</i>	<i>Response</i>	<i>Percentages</i>	
		<i>Initial</i>	<i>Final</i>
types of mental defectives should be required by law.	Agree	79	98
Administration of justice is impartial and fair to all classes.	Disagree	78	95
The dissemination of knowledge concerning birth control should be encouraged.	Agree	72	87

A comparison of initial and final opinions for the type of response—agree or disagree—on which the greater change occurred showed a median change of 8.9 per cent. A similar comparison for the most popular response on the initial expression of attitude showed a median change of 7.4 per cent. These facts indicate that the change in point of view during the progress of the course was at least not a negligible one.

Table I presents evidence concerning the reliability of the difference between initial and final responses for three different types of attitude measures. The method of deriving each type of measure is shown below.

1. Undecided response—number of 0 responses given by each student
2. Extreme responses—number of $+2$ and -2 responses given by each student.
3. Radicalism-conservatism—a weighted score (derived by weighting the five types of possible responses $+2$, $+1$, 0, -1 , and -2 , reading from left to right in the directions given above) based on the 55 items agreed upon by five qualified judges as being those for which extreme responses indicated a definitely radical or conservative attitude.¹

The differences between initial and final responses are shown in Table I in terms of the probable errors of the differences

¹ For this measure, responses tending towards radicalism were assigned positive weightings and responses tending towards conservatism were assigned negative weightings, in harmony with the opinions of the five judges. The fact that the $+2$ response was the conservative point of view on some items and the radical point of

between mean scores. A difference more than four times its probable error is an indication of a real or significant difference between the two comparable measures.

TABLE I
*Differences Between Initial and Final Mean Scores Based on
Several Measures of Attitude*

ATTITUDE MEASURE	INITIAL (N = 60)		FINAL (N = 60)		DIFF.**	P. E. diff.	DIFF. P. E. diff.
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.			
Undecided response	13.73	6.76	10.50	5.79	-3.23	0.78	4.14
Extreme response	31.80	10.38	35.20	12.84	3.40	1.44	2.36
Radicalism- conservatism*	-3.17	13.20	2.25	11.49	5.42	1.52	3.57

*Negative scores tend towards conservatism; positive scores towards radicalism.

**Positive differences show a gain in mean score for the final measure over the initial measure; negative differences show a loss.

Mean scores on undecided responses of 13.73 and 10.50 for the initial and final attitudes differ by 4.14 times the probable error of the difference. This fact indicates that a definite decrease in indecision occurred during the progress of the course. Although the number of extreme responses was greater for the final expression, the difference of 3.40 between initial and final mean scores was only 2.36 times its probable error. This figure suggests a probable change towards more definite conclusions in the final expression of attitude. The reciprocal nature of these two measures is shown by the above findings, for great indecision is apparently accompanied by slight use of decisive or extreme responses and a relatively slight degree of indecision by greater use of decisive responses.

The change in the direction of more radical responses at the end of the course is shown by the mean scores of -3.17 and 2.25 for the initial and final responses on the measure of radicalism-view on others made this scoring modification necessary. The judges were allowed to exercise their own judgment in defining a radical and a conservative point of view, although liberal and reactionary were suggested in further explanation of those terms.

conservatism. The difference between these mean scores is 3.57 times its probable error, which indicates that the chances of a significant difference are 99 in 100.² Here again the evidence indicates a probable relationship between two of the attitude measures. The increase in the use of extreme responses parallels a tendency towards greater liberalism, which suggests the probability that decisiveness of attitude is directly related to tendencies towards liberalism.

Kornhauser,³ who dealt with attitude changes during a three-term course in economics at the University of Chicago, obtained results differing from the above in some respects. While agreement is found with respect to a decrease in undecided responses and a tendency towards greater liberalism, Kornhauser's findings for extreme responses differ from those of the present study. He reported a significant decrease in the use of extreme responses, while the findings of the present study, although not significant, are definitely in the opposite direction. It is true, of course, that differences between the items and the methods of stating them might account for this lack of agreement in the findings of the two studies.

Sex differences for both initial and final responses are shown by the data in Table II. The differences between mean scores obtained by the men and women show consistency in the direction of differences for comparable initial and final measures. The mean scores further indicate that the men were less undecided, expressed their attitudes by fewer extreme responses, and tended to be less conservative than was true of the women. It appears, therefore, that the women indicated their attitudes by more extreme responses on some items and yet showed greater indecision on others than did the men. The reliability of these dif-

² H. E. Garrett, *Statistics in Psychology and Education* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), p. 93.

³ Arthur W. Kornhauser, "Changes in the Information and Attitudes of Students in an Economics Course," *Journal of Educational Research*, XXII (November 1930), 288-98.

ferences is somewhat in doubt, because of the fact that too few cases are available to validate the application of the more refined statistical technique used in Table I.

TABLE II

Sex Differences on Several Measures of Attitude for Initial and Final Responses

TYPE OF MEASURE	TEST	MEN (N=35)		WOMEN (N=25)		DIFF.*	COEFFICIENT OF VARIABILITY**	
		MEAN	S. D.	MEAN	S. D.		MEN	WOMEN
Undecided response	Initial	12.21	6.81	15.86	6.92	-3.65	55.8	43.6
	Final	9.99	6.11	11.22	5.21	-1.23	61.2	46.4
Extreme response	Initial	31.54	11.21	32.16	9.08	-0.62	35.5	28.2
	Final	33.77	12.63	37.20	12.87	-3.43	37.4	34.6
Radicalism-conservatism	Initial	-2.43	12.71	-4.20	13.76	1.77	36.8	42.0
	Final	2.43	10.31	2.00	12.96	0.43	26.1	37.0

*Positive differences indicate higher mean scores for the men; negative differences indicate higher mean scores for the women.

**The coefficients of variability for the radicalism-conservatism measure were computed from mean scores transmuted so that the zero point, instead of occurring near the center of the distribution of scores, was arbitrarily set at the lowest score of the series. The S. D. remains unaffected by such transmutation, and the V, being a relative and not an absolute measure, may be considered valid for the comparisons made.

The coefficients of variability⁴ listed in the last two columns indicate the relative dispersion or variability of the attitude scores for the men and women. For undecided responses and extreme responses, the variability shown by the scores of the men is the greater. However, the women show considerably greater variability on the radicalism-conservatism scores. This fact indicates the probability that, although the men were less conservative, the women tended to distribute themselves more widely over the radicalism-conservatism scale.

Coefficients of correlation were also computed between both initial and final scores for the three measures and final semester marks in the course. The coefficients were, on the whole, indicative of relatively slight degrees of relationships, as the range

⁴ Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

from $-.24$ to $.29$ shows. Relationships between final responses and semester marks were closer than those based on initial responses. The correlation coefficients are also lacking in complete reliability, so tentative conclusions only can be drawn. Scholastic success in sociology tends to be inversely related to indecision of attitude ($-.24 \pm .08$), and to be directly related to decision of attitude ($.29 \pm .08$), and to a tendency towards a radical or liberal point of view ($.25 \pm .08$).

The above results are in harmony with those of Kornhauser,⁵ who found low coefficients and only slight consistency of relationships among some fifty coefficients obtained from combinations of such variables as attitude scores, scholarship ratings, and scores on both intelligence and achievement tests. Allport⁶ reports a correlation coefficient of $.21$ between radicalism and college grades, a result tending to substantiate the "r" of $.25 \pm .08$ obtained for that relationship in this study.

Table III presents data concerning the significance of differ-

TABLE III

Differences in Radicalism-Conservatism Between Initial and Final Mean Scores for Items Grouped According to an Arbitrary Subject Classification

CLASSIFICATION	NUMBER OF ITEMS	RE-SPONSES	INITIAL		FINAL		DIFF.	DIFF.	
			MEAN	S. D.	MEAN	S. D.		P. E.	P. E.
Criminology	4	236	0.33	1.59	0.47	1.64	0.14	0.10	1.40
Governmental policies	9	521	0.21	1.24	0.22	1.26	0.01	0.05	0.20
Industry	3	176	0.32	1.22	0.32	1.20	0.00	0.09	0.00
Marriage, the family	8	473	0.20	1.52	0.38	1.67	0.18	0.07	2.57
Modern institutions	8	468	-0.15	1.35	0.06	1.40	0.21	0.06	3.50
Race problems	8	478	-0.78	1.29	-0.91	1.23	-0.14	0.05	2.80*
Religion	7	401	-0.05	1.44	0.19	1.49	0.24	0.07	3.43
Trends of civilization	8	475	-0.16	1.49	0.03	1.58	0.19	0.07	2.71

*Indicates tendency towards greater conservatism; all others, excepting that for industry, tend towards less conservative points of view.

⁵ Kornhauser, *op. cit.*

⁶ G. W. Allport, "The Composition of Political Attitudes," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV (September 1929), 220-38.

ences between initial and final responses to test items grouped according to an arbitrary subject classification. The changes on the radicalism-conservatism scale are evaluated in terms of the probable errors of the differences. The radical end of the scale is designated by positive values and the conservative end by negative values.

The data of Table III show no differences of unquestionable reliability. Differences divided by their probable errors yield quotients of 3.50 and 3.43 for items dealing with modern institutions and religion, respectively. The chances of significance for these differences are both 99 out of 100. With the exception of items dealing with race problems and those concerning industry, all changes are in the direction of a less conservative final attitude.

For items dealing with race problems, the quotient of 2.80 for the difference between mean scores and its probable error indicates 97 chances in 100 of a tendency towards greater conservatism. Although a greater tendency towards conservatism would normally be expected on this issue in Southern institutions, only half of the items in this group dealt with problems concerning the Negro. It is not clear, furthermore, why the initial to final change should be in the direction of still greater conservatism on this issue.

The results of the above table are preponderantly in the direction of a less conservative attitude at the end of the course than at its beginning, although no single change of attitude shows complete significance. Furthermore, these results are completely in harmony with those shown for the radicalism-conservatism measure in Table I. There is considerable evidence to justify the belief not only that tendencies towards liberalism developed during the progress of the course, but also that these liberalizing tendencies pertained more definitely to certain problems of a sociological nature than to others.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

An attitude-reaction test consisting of 75 items of a sociological nature was given to 60 University of Arkansas students in the introductory sociology course both at the start and close of the first semester, 1931-1932. The following summary indicates the nature of the most important findings.

That the test was made up largely of controversial items is shown by the fact that real differences of student opinion existed both for initial and final responses. A significant decrease in indecision of response was accompanied by a strong but not reliable tendency towards greater decisiveness of final responses. Chances numbering 99 out of 100 show the probability of a final attitude less conservative than the initial expression.

A correlation coefficient between scholastic success in sociology and radicalism-conservatism scores, although not wholly reliable, indicates that liberalism may be slightly related to scholastic success. Scholastic success is inversely related to indecision of attitude, but the coefficients are not wholly reliable for either the initial or the final comparison.

Classification of the items selected by five judges to be those involving questions of radicalism-conservatism into eight arbitrary subject groups yielded no differences of statistical reliability between initial and final responses. Greatest tendencies towards a less conservative final attitude were found for items relating to modern institutions and religion, while for race problems the tendency was towards greater conservatism.

The degree to which liberalizing the point of view of students in sociology is considered a logical objective of such a course will determine the significance of attitude studies of this nature. It may be that attitude measures will one day be perfected and validated to the point that they will become an integral part of testing in the social sciences.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today, by G. D. H. COLE AND MARGARET COLE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933, 624 pages.

This book is concerned primarily with the political, economic, and social developments in postwar Europe. To the American reader who has been so deeply engrossed in the rapidly changing situation in his own country that he has failed to see its relationship to the international situation, this book offers a splendid opportunity to gain a broader if not a more hopeful outlook. Eventually we must approve or disapprove current efforts looking towards recovery in the United States in the light of more defensible criteria than confidence or lack of confidence in the President. The recovery efforts of our European neighbors, some of which are being duplicated in our own country, deserve careful study. We talk glibly of Socialism, Fascism, Communism, controlled inflation, and many other panaceas for our troubled times. Europe has tried them all.

What Everybody Wants to Know About Money, planned and edited by G. D. H. COLE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933, 435 pages.

It is high praise indeed to state that this book almost lives up to its title. Mr. Cole and the nine economists from Oxford who collaborated with him have presented a splendid treatment of money, banking, credit, debt, international finance, inflation and the gold-standard, and the relationship of all these to world economic problems. The writers have tried to present their subjects in such a way as to be comprehensible to the educated reader who is not a specialist in economics, and at the same time to avoid superficiality. A fundamental point of view throughout is that there are many factors other than the monetary factor which are essential to restoration or maintenance of economic stability.

Social Reconstruction, by HAROLD RUGG AND MARION KRUEGER. New York: The John Day Company, 1933, 140 pages.

This book is a study guide for group and class discussion. The purpose of the book is "to help focus thought upon the insistent current problems

of social reconstruction." These are introductory sections dealing with the first and second industrial revolutions, with experiments with individualism in business and government in the industrial countries, and considering the question as to whether we are now at the end of an epoch. The principal section is concerned with plans for the reconstruction of the economic-social systems. The last section considers the problems of education and consent in a democratic society. There are excellent selected reading lists accompanying all sections. This book is recommended as a guide to the study of current social and economical problems by individuals or groups.

Technique of Social Investigation, by C. LUTHER FRY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934, 315 pages.

Were the supplementary phrase, "A Primer," attached to the title, this book would be correctly described. This does not imply a criticism of the content but rather only of its somewhat misleading title. For one who has had no experience in research in the social sciences and who desires a simple, nonstatistical guidebook, this volume will be of genuine value. It is direct (written in the second person), well organized, and the points are illustrated by brief descriptions of researches to show both strength and weakness of different procedures.

A Social Basis of Education, by HAROLD S. TUTTLE. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1934, 10 + 589 pages.

The aim of the author is to stimulate among educators, in school and out, a fuller realization that "the service of sociology to education will not be fully realized until, in the judgments, the habits, and the attitudes of every teacher and every parent, the significance of the social aspects of education holds an equal place with those of its individual aspects."

The author has approached his problem largely from a philosophical point of view, and has drawn profusely from other writers both critical of and supporting his own position. His analysis of the educative junction of nonschool agencies and their relationship to the school is clearly presented and forcefully written. A careful reading of this book will convince the reader that the author has fully achieved his purpose.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Cost of American Democracy*, by JAMES ROSS. Sandusky, Ohio: James Ross.
- Critical Problems in School Administration*, Twelfth Yearbook, Department of Superintendence, National Education Association.
- Desirable Physical Facilities for an Activity Program*, by FRANK M. LONG. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Economic Basis of Politics*, by CHARLES A. BEARD. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Education of Primitive People*, by ALBERT D. HELSER. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.
- Educational Philosophy of Giovanni Gentile*, by MERRITT MOORE THOMPSON. Southern California Educational Monographs, 1933-34 Series No. 1. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press.
- Ethics of Sexual Acts*, by RENE GUYON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- European Policies on Financing Public Educational Institutions: 1. France*, by FLETCHER HARPER SWIFT. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Faith, Fear and Fortunes*, by DANIEL STARCH. New York: Richard R. Smith.
- Fields and Methods of Sociology*, edited by L. L. BERNARD. New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc.
- Foundations of Abnormal Psychology*, by FRED A. MOSS and THELMA HUNT. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Genealogy of Sex*, by C. THESING. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.
- Getting Acquainted With Your Child*, by JAMES W. HOWARD. New York: Leisure League of America, Inc.
- Heredity and the Social Problem Group*, Volume I, by E. J. LIDBETTER. New York: Longmans, Green and Company.
- High School Administration and Supervision*, by PHILIP W. L. COX and R. EMERSON LANGFITT. New York: American Book Company.
- Historical Approach to the World Problems of Today*, by FREDERICK STANLEY RODKEY. Urbana, Illinois: Frederick Stanley Rodkey.
- History of Marriage and the Family*, by WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Home Room Guidance, by HARRY C. MCKOWN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Individual Differences, by FRANK S. FREEMAN. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Introduction to Comparative Psychology, by CARL J. WARDEN, THOMAS N. JENKINS, and LUCIEN H. WARNER. New York: Ronald Press Company.

Introduction to Education, by WILLIAM H. BURTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.

Introduction to Teaching and Learning, by GERALD ALAN YOAKAM and ROBERT GILKEY SIMPSON. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Island India Goes to School, by EDWIN R. ENDREE, MARGARET SARGENT SIMON, and W. BRYANT MUMFORD. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Japanese in California, by EDWARD K. STRONG. *Education-Psychology*, Vol. I, No. 2. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press.

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EDITORIAL

In last month's editorial comment I expressed the view that we have little hope of the contributions of the schools to the development of a constructively planned social order and no hope that educators themselves would be able to make the school an instrument for effecting economic and social changes of a fundamental sort.

This judgment was based wholly on the assumption that the type of training to which school people had been subjected leaves them without the information on economic and social problems and the point of view that would be necessary in order to give direction towards a planned social order. It was also indicated that there is not likely to be any radical change in the situation in the near future. This emphasis, however, left wholly out of account the fundamental principle involved, namely, the function of the school as an agency of control and direction, and dealt with the practical question as to the possibility of an early contribution in that direction.

There was, therefore, in this discussion no intention of expressing an opinion on the various points of view with reference to the function of the school in a planned social order. The editorial of the *Elementary School Journal* states these views adequately as follows:

First, there are those who would make the school an instrument of social, economic, and political quietism. To them the social mission of the school is the main-

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tenance of the status quo. They would deny to teachers freedom of discussion of vital current social and economic problems. They would have the school develop in youth an emotional attachment to the prevailing social philosophy and an uncritical acceptance of the order of things as they find it. A second group, and one which has pressed its point of view vigorously in recent months, insists that the school be made an instrument for implementing such social policy as teachers may deem desirable. The members of this group would have the teachers of the nation formulate a plan of social reconstruction, and they would employ the school as a means of carrying that plan into operation. They place squarely on the school the responsibility of creating a new social order. A third group, composed of progressive realists, regards the development of social intelligence as the essential social mission of the school. These people would extend to teachers and pupils alike complete freedom of discussion of all issues and all institutions, the social and intellectual immaturity of pupils being the only bar to such discussion. They would have pupils trained to gather evidence and to evaluate it critically. They believe that it is the function of the school to make the pupil as intelligent as possible with respect to the social order in which he is to live, but they believe that the school cannot and should not press upon the pupil the acceptance of specific plans of social organization or specific formulas for the solution of social problems. They believe that a citizenry with a critical understanding of the existing pattern of economic and social organization can be trusted to formulate and to carry into execution its own social policies.

This editorial also quotes a statement by Professor Charters which presents its own view. The statement is too long to repeat in this editorial but it takes a position which appeals to me as the only one possible; namely, that the discussion and intelligent understanding of problems in so far as the pupils in various stages can understand them is all that we may expect from the school. Even the accomplishment of this will require that teachers become more adequately informed on economic and social problems. My whole contention, and one that has been emphasized continuously in the pages of this JOURNAL, is that teachers are perhaps less well informed on social matters than any other group of intellectuals and the reason for this is the fact that the whole training curriculum is directed primarily towards the more adequate instructions in conventional curricula and places little emphasis upon the method and technique of personality development.

E. G. P.

MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT CHINA

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Family solidarity is the cornerstone of Chinese culture. For many centuries the family pattern has so dominated every phase of social organization—government, labor, religion, education—that an adequate treatment of Chinese family life would call for a study of the whole social order. Manifestly, one short article cannot cover such a scope. However, the social *regulations* that grow up about the family institution are a fairly clear reflection of the family *ideal* that is fixed in the minds of the people. Therefore, these regulations should reveal, to a considerable extent, the broader family pattern, even though some factors must be omitted from the picture and the interpretation of others kept to the barest minimum. The great sweep of time which Chinese history covers, and the differences in customs to be found in a country so vast, make it necessary to use only data which have applied to a considerable area and for a considerable period of time.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS

One of the earliest marriage prohibitions, and one surviving to this day, was that forbidding persons of the same surname to marry. An imperial decree of 484 A.D. states that this rule was promulgated far back in the Chou dynasty, which was from 122 to 255 B.C.¹ Any one marrying within his clan received sixty blows, and the marriage was declared null and void. It was feared that such mating would produce weak offspring, in spite of the fact that the bearing of the same name often did not afford the slightest presumption of a common ancestor.² In early times

¹ E. T. C. Werner, *Descriptive Sociology of the Chinese*, compiled and abstracted on the plan organized by Herbert Spencer (London: Williams and Norgate, 1910), p. 24.

² Christopher Gardner, "Chinese Laws and Customs," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, n.s., 15:221-236, 1883.

there was an effort to prevent interclass marriage. Particularly were officials forbidden to marry actresses or singing girls. But these prohibitions were nowhere strictly observed, and no caste system resulted therefrom. Officials and nobles heeded them least of all. Said Marco Polo, speaking of Kansu Province, "No matter how base a woman's descent may be, if she have beauty, she may find a husband among the greatest men of the land, the man paying the girl's father and mother a great sum of money, according to the bargain that may be made."³

A man could not marry his sister's or brother's daughter, on pain of severe punishment. In fact, marrying within the prohibited degree of relationship might bring the death penalty; decapitation was the fate of the man who ventured to marry any of the father's or grandfather's former wives. Marriage was prohibited during legal mourning time, but this was often disregarded except when mourning for a father or mother.

Five types of women were considered unfit for marriage: "the daughter of a rebellious house; the daughter of a disorderly house; the daughter of a house that has produced criminals for more than one generation; the daughter of a leprous house; and the daughter who has lost her father and elder brother."⁴

CELIBACY

The proper age for marriage, in the later feudal period (122-221 B.C.), was fifteen for the girl and twenty for the young man. Celibacy was severely frowned upon, and in some sections not permitted, for it reflected on the rule of the local officials. Werner tells us how Emperor Cheng Kuan (A.D. 627) effectively disposed of the leftovers in the matrimonial market. He issued a decree that if a young man over twenty and a girl over fifteen were single, the local magistrate should marry them with due ceremony. If they were poor, rich neighbors or relatives were

³ Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (London: Murray, 1875), 2d ed., i. 267.

⁴ J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics* (London: Trübner, 1861-1872), I, Prol. p. 105.

obligated to present them with enough money to get them started. Simcox cites an interesting custom showing how severely celibacy was discountenanced. It appears that one method of avoiding the odium of singleness (albeit a method of doubtful satisfaction) was to remove the bodies of those who had died unmarried to fresh tombs where, by a sort of posthumous marriage, they were united to girls who had died before attaining the marriageable age. But even this loophole was stopped up, according to a passage in the *Chow Li* (I. p. 308), and the only remaining honorable way to avoid marriage was to enter the priesthood.⁵

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE

Marriage was not a personal matter but the fulfillment of one's duty in preserving the family line. Said the old *Book of Rites*: "Marriage is to make a union between two persons of different families, the object of which is to serve, on the one hand, the ancestors in the temple, on the other hand, the coming generation . . ."⁶ It was a great disgrace for any family name to die out, and this was prevented, when necessary, by adoption, even posthumous adoption being possible. A man took great care that his name and those of his children were entered in the *chia pu* (family register) which was kept by the head of the great-family. If a man became a Buddhist priest he gave up both surname and secular name and received in their place a holy name. With his surname he gave up all his rights and duties in the clan. Many Buddhist priests were criminals, due to the desire of the family to protect its good name. If the family council expelled a member for crime it was a stain on the family name, hence such a black sheep was permitted to "resign" and enter the priesthood. Thus "face" was saved all round. As a Buddhist priest was not allowed to marry, the family was permanently relieved of the unworthy offshoot.

⁵ E. J. Simcox, *Primitive Civilisations* (London: Sonnenschein, 1897), 2d V., p. 70.

⁶ Legge's translation, quoted in Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1924), p. 106.

Children were usually married off according to seniority. While marriage took place quite early, there was no child marriage such as in India. Girls very seldom married before fifteen, but betrothal usually took place a number of years before marriage. The betrothal of unborn children was forbidden, but between families of long established friendship the custom was quite common. The usual age for affiancing children was between seven and fourteen. The selection was made chiefly by the grandparents, if living, or by the parents, aided by a go-between.

The match-maker's profession was honorable, and called for much discretion. He was charged by the parents to look for a girl more remarkable for virtue than for beauty, or in the case of a man, one more renowned for wisdom than for wealth, but he knew that a match of economic advantage would seldom be rejected. The negotiations were frequently carried on in the ancestral temple, which lent a religious sanction to the marriage. Heredity was not neglected. The *san-tai*, an account of one's people back three generations, was first exchanged, and if the families were not well acquainted each would send a confidential agent to verify the *san-tai* of the other.⁷ Also the day of birth was important, for each day represented some animal, and if the boy happened to have been born on the day of the fox, and the girl on the day of the goose, they could not marry, for the fox was sure to devour the goose. But if no trouble was encountered on birthdays, the horoscopes were consulted to see if all was propitious. Preliminary presents were then exchanged, the most suitable gift being a wild goose. Wild geese represented a good match for they were always in pairs, and living in the North in summer and the South in winter they had acquired the harmonizing power of the male and female principle.⁸

To be valid the marriage required the consent of the parents on both sides, written into the contract. Also the bride's parents

⁷ Leong and Tao, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁸ Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

must have accepted the regular marriage present from the groom (really from his family) to somewhat repay them for their trouble in raising the girl. Likewise the groom's parents must have agreed to the amount of the dowry offered with the bride. The contract made the whole affair binding as soon as signed, but the exchange of gifts seems to have been the essential element. Once these had been accepted there was no turning back. After betrothal either party could sue for a conclusion of the marriage, and the party refusing was punished with fifty blows, after which the marriage was enforced.⁹ If, after the contract was signed but before marriage, it was discovered that the bride's father had practised deceit, he was punished with eighty blows, the contract was voided, and the presents returned. If the groom's father was guilty of such misstatement the punishment was even more severe, and the bride kept her presents. If fraud was discovered *after* marriage it constituted grounds for divorce.

The marriage day was fixed by the bride's parents, and between betrothal and marriage there must elapse for the emperor one year, for great vassals six months, and for the common people one month. If the bride's family delayed unduly after the wedding date agreed upon, the groom had the right to kidnap her with the help of friends. This was occasionally permitted in poor families in order to avoid the expense of an elaborate wedding. But forcible abduction of the bride *before* the set wedding day was a punishable offense.¹⁰ Betrothal was considered almost as binding as marriage, and if a betrothed girl died, mourning could be performed as for a married woman.

The observance of certain formalities in marriage was early made mandatory. One of the Odes speaks of King Wu and his brother, the Duke of Chou, instituting the sanctity of marriage by

⁹ P. G. von Möllendorff, "The Family Life of the Chinese," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, North China Branch, n.s., v. 13, 1879.

¹⁰ Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (London: S. Low, son and Marston, 1868), pp. 104-105.

the observance of special regulations, and unions not conforming to them were declared illegitimate and the offenders punished. Whatever these earliest ceremonies may have been, Chinese marriage in general came to be accompanied by such elaborate rites that usually only the wealthy classes observed all of them. The ceremonies lasted for several days, and families of small resources were sometimes bankrupt when the wedding was over.

For the young man marriage was the "completing of this house" (*ch'eng chia*); for the girl it was a "going out of the door" (*ch'u men*), that is, leaving the household of her parents to enter that of her parents-in-law. During the ceremony the couple knelt together before the ancestral shrine of the groom, the bride thus signifying her allegiance to his household and his family line. All of the other ceremonies being finished the bride and groom ate together of the same food, to show that they were now one body. Passing from the house the husband preceded the wife, establishing at the beginning the right relationship.

COMPARATIVE STATUS OF WIFE, CONCUBINE, AND MISTRESS

In the later feudal period (1122-221 B.C.) when the Emperor married he was to marry nine women at once—one wife and eight concubines or secondary wives. During the Absolute Monarchy (221 B.C.-221 A.D.) the number of wives the Emperor should marry was increased to twelve, one for each of the twelve months of Heaven, but all must be married at once "to avoid lewdness." It appears, however, that this legal number was often exceeded, for in the Han dynasty even a prince was permitted forty concubines. Lesser persons were strictly limited. A great minister could have a wife and two concubines, a scholar one wife and one concubine. As such rules might indicate, there were two kinds of marriage, very similar to the Romans' *confarreatio* and *coemptio*. The legal wife (*chi*) became a member of her husband's clan and worshipped his ancestors. She brought with her a portion from her family, over which (in many cases)

she retained control. In case of widowhood she became the natural administrator of her husband's individual estate, with certain rights in the clan property should his estate be insignificant. She was mistress of the household and held sway over the concubines, or secondary wives. Among the noble and official classes she shared her husband's honors and even wore his uniform, sometimes helping him in the performance of his official duties. No noble, no official, and no person with a literary degree could give his daughter in marriage except with the status of a *chi*, nor could he raise a wife who was the daughter of a slave or a disenfranchised class to the status of *chi*.²¹

The secondary wife (*chieh*), corresponding to the Roman wife by *coemptio*, was of distinctly lower status than the *chi*. She was frankly purchased, and the contract, which had to be in writing, was called "an agreement for selling a person." The price was always stated, though often it was nominal. No marriage ceremony was necessary, the marriage being consummated by the residence of the *chieh* in her husband's household. She was subordinate to the *chi*, but superior to a third type of consort, the *piao*, or mistress, with whom the husband might live temporarily outside the household. The *piao* was sometimes accorded the social courtesy of a *chieh*, who in turn might receive the social courtesy of a *chi*, but in reality there was a great difference between them. The *chieh* worshipped her husband's ancestors, while the *piao* did not; her children were legitimate, but those of the *piao* were illegitimate. The *chi*, with highest rank of all, could not be degraded to the rank of *chieh*, nor could the *chieh* be raised to the rank of the *chi* during the lifetime of the latter. One fly in the *chi's* ointment was that her husband had not personally chosen her, but had chosen his concubines. However, such a plurality of wives, concubines, and mistresses applied only to the wealthy, the majority of the population practising monogamy.

²¹ Christopher Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 228 ff.

DOUBLE STANDARD

The double standard was fully recognized, and practically never questioned by wives. The principle is clearly set forth in a passage from one of the Odes:

Ah; 'Thou young lady
Seek no licentious pleasure with a gentleman.
When a gentleman indulges in such a pleasure,
Something may still be said for him;
When a lady does so
Nothing can be said for her.¹²

The wife could not leave the house without the husband's permission. He could beat her if she displeased him, but not severely enough to injure her. In case of adultery the husband could kill both his wife and her paramour, if caught in the very act, and for thus maintaining the purity of the family he was invariably rewarded by the local official and praised by the people.¹³ He merely appeared before the magistrate and explained why he had killed the guilty parties. He then received a nominal punishment of twenty blows, and a present of a roll of red cloth, and 20,000 *cash* (equal to 20 Chinese dollars). But the irate husband could have no help in the double slaying, for any one helping him was guilty of murder. Neither could he do any half-way job, for if he killed only one of the guilty pair he himself was guilty of murder!¹⁴ The husband's right to destroy the guilty pair had to be exercised at once in order to be valid; otherwise the offenders were brought before the court and bambooned but not put to death. The wife could then be sold into slavery to recover her dowry. In any case the husband was required to divorce her, and in no case could she marry her seducer.

¹² Odes I, V, IV, 3, quoted in H. F. Ridd, *Chinese Social Origins* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 164.

¹³ Möllendorff, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁴ J. H. Gray, *China; A History of the Laws, Manners and Customs of the People* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1878), 2d v., pp. 224-226.

CONDUCT OF WIDOWS

Widows could remarry (after three years of mourning), but it was considered such a disgrace that only the very poor with whom necessity overrode convention dared to disregard the moral law which bound the loyal wife to her husband even in death. If the widow returned to her own parents she lost all her rights in her husband's property, including what she brought with her. She usually took over the management of his estate, or, if his parents were living, remained with them as their daughter. It was a great honor to a family to have a widowed daughter-in-law who steadily refused to remarry, and conversely it brought great dishonor to the family if she married. If a wife became a widow after thirty years of age, and remained one for thirty years, her virtue was so great that she was eligible for an imperial reward in the form of an arched gateway, erected where she lived. After receiving such a reward she could not change her mind and marry! Such arches were numerous in some parts of China.

DIVORCE

It is not known when divorce was first legalized in China, but it was in existence when the Code was promulgated in 253 B.C. Confucius is said to have divorced his legal wife, his son and grandson following his example, though some writers deny this. There were at least ten grounds on which a man could divorce his wife: (1) fraud in the marriage contract; (2) adultery or dissolute conduct; (3) disobedience or unfilial conduct towards the husband's parents; (4) barrenness; (5) jealousy; (6) incurable disease [leprosy?]; (7) talkativeness; (8) theft; (9) leaving the house against the will of the husband; (10) desertion. Legge's translation of the Chinese classics shows that most of these reasons for divorce might be overruled in court by any one of the following considerations: (1) if the woman had been taken from a home but now had no home to return to; (2) if she

had passed with her husband through the three years of mourning for her parents; (3) if the husband had become rich after being poor. Furthermore, too frequent divorce was frowned upon. Kuan Tzu wrote that a scholar who had divorced three wives should be expelled from the district.

There is evidence that in the very early times (later feudal period, 1122-221 B.C.) divorce for trivial offenses was common, and might even be commendable. Cheng Tzu, explaining the *Chou Rites*, declared that the ancients were so honest and chivalrous that a man of honor would not divorce his wife for serious cause lest it ruin her life, but only for slight cause, in accordance with the old proverb: "In divorcing a wife one should make her marriageable." Divorced women usually were permitted to go back to their parents, but the above proverb would indicate that remarriage was common in that early day. It appears that divorced concubines at first were not allowed to remarry, for in the next period (Absolute Monarchy, 221 B.C.-221 A.D.) a decree was issued giving them the right of remarriage.

But the wife also had some rights of divorce, though they were limited. She could divorce her husband: (1) if he became a leper; (2) if he deserted her, remaining away three years, and if meanwhile none of his relatives had offered her any support.¹⁵ To these two commonly accepted grounds, Möllendorff adds three other causes for which the wife could *sue* for divorce, but with no assurance that it would be granted: (a) if she had been deceived by false statements in the marriage contract; (b) if her husband had beaten her cruelly; (c) if her husband was willing to divorce her at her own request. In support of the last named cause, Werner tells of a woman who wanted to divorce her husband because he had become very poor. He consented, and wrote her an ode which she took to the magistrate. The divorce was granted—after she had received twenty strokes of the bamboo.

¹⁵ Gray, *op. cit.*

SOME SOCIAL RESULTS OF TRAINING IN VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE

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How does the training in vocational agriculture influence the social adjustment of high-school graduates who remain in their home community? Answers of 546 graduates of Iowa high schools, 214 of whom are now residing in the community in which they attended high school, indicate how training in vocational agriculture has influenced their activities and their attitudes in certain very definite ways. Information secured concerning continued residence in the home community, the number of occupational changes made since graduation, participation in the activities of rural organizations, and differences in opinion towards farming and coöperative marketing gives some indication of social adjustment. In addition, the information relates closely to those social factors most likely to be influenced by training in vocational agriculture and to objectives 8 and 12 of the training objectives set up in 1931 by a committee of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.¹

Data were secured from the students and graduates of twelve Iowa high schools, seven of which had graduates in vocational agriculture during the period of this study, 1922 to 1927. Of the other five schools included, four have added courses in vocational agriculture since 1927 and these five schools, otherwise comparable to the others included, constitute in a sense a check group, by the use of which a comparable number of nonvocational graduates is secured. The twelve schools are representative of all the

¹ American Vocational Association, National Committee, *Training Objectives in Vocational Education*. United States Board for Vocational Educational, Bulletin 153, May 1931, pp. 1-2.

major farming areas in Iowa and of the kinds of rural communities in which vocational agriculture is taught (Table I). Data collected by questionnaire and by personal visit and checked by local leaders were secured in 1932 from five to ten years after graduation. Since it was impossible to study the changes in the opinions of the graduates while they were in school, the opinions of the present freshmen were compared with those of the present seniors.

TABLE I

POPULATION OF CENTER, HIGH-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, AND STATUS OF VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE IN TWELVE IOWA HIGH SCHOOLS

<i>Community</i>	<i>Population of Center 1930^b</i>	<i>High-School Enrollment 1931-1932</i>	<i>Vocational Courses First Offered</i>
Orange Township ^a	— ^b	75	1917
Kelley ^a	179	52	1920
Castana ^a	334	85	1921
Hudson ^a	470	70	1920
Jesup ^c	736	120	1923
Denison ^c	3,905	323	1917
Newton ^c	11,560	786	1917
Story City ^a	1,434	150	1928
Harlan ^d	3,145	324	1930
Greeley ^d	343	70	1929
Dunlap ^d	1,522	152	1931
Marshalltown ^d	17,373	866	— ^e

^a Vocational agriculture required of all male students

^b Open country center, unincorporated

^c Vocational agriculture elective

^d Vocational agriculture not offered during the time of this study

^e No vocational agriculture offered

Of 546 graduates, 214 or 39.2 per cent are now in the community where they attended high school (Table 2). Though a slightly higher percentage of graduates trained in vocational agriculture were found in the home community, differences in the ability of communities to hold their graduates are more

closely related to the population of the center than to the status of vocational agriculture in the school. Centers under 500 population held 41.2 per cent of their graduates, cities held 50.8 per cent

TABLE 2

GRADUATES OF TWELVE IOWA HIGH SCHOOLS, 1922 TO 1927, LIVING IN THE HOME COMMUNITY IN 1932

School	Total Graduates Investigated	Graduates in Home Community	
		Number	Per Cent
Total	546	214	39.2
Denison	94	29	30.9
Jesup	48	18	37.5
Newton ^a	64	36	56.3
Castana	18	6	33.3
Hudson	44	18	40.9
Kelley	15	10	66.7
Orange Township	33	10	30.3
Dunlap	38	12	31.6
Greeley	21	10	47.6
Harlan	40	10	25.0
Marshalltown ^a	56	25	44.6
Story City	75	30	40.0

^a The smaller number of graduates selected at random from these largest schools prevents them from unduly influencing the totals.

of their graduates, while the larger villages and towns experienced greatest difficulty holding but 33.6 per cent of their graduates.

Minute comparison of the scholastic records of the graduates was not practical because of wide variations in grading systems. The data secured indicates in general that there is no tendency for those securing higher than average grades to leave the home community. However, in the schools where vocational agriculture was elective, the majority of the students securing above average grades did not elect courses in vocational agriculture.

RELATION OF TRAINING TO CHOICE OF OCCUPATION

Occupational data were secured from 506 graduates, of whom 198 had taken courses in vocational agriculture. These data indicate a relation between training in vocational agriculture and the decision of high-school graduates to follow farming as an occupation (Table 3). Nearly one half of the graduates who took vocational agriculture are now farming. Unskilled labor claims the next highest number, with skilled labor and the professional and technical occupations which require college training following in the order named. Students not taking vocational agriculture are quite evenly divided between skilled, unskilled, and professional and technical occupations. In the schools where vocational agriculture is elective, only 6 per cent of the students not electing vocational agriculture are now farming while the largest number, 31.9 per cent, are now in professional and technical occupations.

Of 73 graduates in vocational agriculture whose fathers were

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONS OF GRADUATES IN VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE COMPARED WITH OTHER GRADUATES

Occupation of Graduates	<i>Status of Vocational Agriculture in the Schools</i>							
	<i>Where Vocational Agriculture Is Elective</i>				<i>Where All Take Vocational Agricul- ture</i>		<i>Where Vocational Agriculture Is Not Offered</i>	
	<i>Taking Voc. Agr.</i>	<i>Other Students</i>						
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total . . .	90	99.8	116	99.8	108	99.9	192	100.0
Farmers . . .	40	44.4	7	6.0	51	47.2	42	21.9
Skilled laborers	13	14.4	28	24.1	15	13.8	33	18.2
Unskilled laborers . . .	16	17.8	25	21.5	24	22.2	35	17.1
Professional and technical . . .	10	11.0	37	31.9	14	13.0	29	15.2
Unemployed . .	4	4.4	5	4.3	1	.9	11	5.7
Deceased . . .	1	1.1	4	3.4	2	1.9	4	2.1
Unknown . . .	6	6.7	10	8.6	1	.9	38	19.8

farming while they were in high school, 73 per cent are now farming (Table 4). When this is compared with the 63 per cent of the boys now farming who did not select vocational courses even though their fathers were farming, it is apparent that the occupation of the father also appreciably influences the choice of occupation of the son. These data, however, also indicate that vocational training influences the choice of occupation of the graduates, and further emphasize the tendency of graduates in vocational agriculture to work in unskilled occupations while the other graduates work in skilled professional and technical occupations to a much greater extent. Unemployment is more widespread among the graduates who did not take two or more courses in vocational agriculture.

Graduates in vocational agriculture have held fewer jobs than the other graduates (Table 5). This is especially marked in the graduates of those schools where vocational agriculture is elective and holds true even among the graduates whose fathers were farming while the sons were in high school.

TABLE 4
OCCUPATIONS OF GRADUATES COMPARED WITH OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS

Occupations	Course Taken By Sons			
	Vocational Agriculture		Other	
	Fathers	Sons	Fathers	Sons
Farming	73	53	56	35
Skilled labor	5	8	24	29
Unskilled labor	1	17	6	17
Professional and technical	0	0	7	5
Unemployed	0	2	0	11
Deceased	1	0	1	0
Unknown	0	0	3	0

More satisfactory occupational adjustment is also indicated for the graduates who took vocational agriculture by every comparison indicated in Table 5; at least one third more of them

TABLE 5

THE NUMBER OF JOBS SINCE GRADUATION HELD BY VOCATIONAL,
AGRICULTURE AND OTHER GRADUATES

<i>Class</i>	<i>Vocational Agriculture Graduates</i>		<i>Other Graduates</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Jobs Held, Average</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Jobs Held, Average</i>
Total	154	2.56	155	2.74
Vocational agriculture elective	44	2.61	27	3.03
Vocational agriculture required	37	2.70	—	—
Vocational agriculture not offered	—	—	71	2.58
Sons of farmers	73	2.45	57	2.79

are, at the time of this investigation, in the occupation they decided upon while seniors in high school; a larger percentage had made their occupational preference by the time they were seniors in high school; and a larger percentage do not now wish to change from the choice of occupation they made while in high school.

RELATION OF TRAINING TO PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZATIONS

Information concerning participation in local organizations was secured from 168 of the graduates who remained in their home community. This information indicates that the graduates in vocational agriculture average lower than other graduates in the number of organizations to which they belong and in the number of offices held in these organizations (Table 6). No appreciable difference in regularity of attendance was indicated by the data. In order to eliminate the influence of different communities, information is presented for the graduates of schools where vocational agriculture is elective. In these schools the graduates in vocational agriculture belong to more organizations and attend more regularly than do the other graduates. However, the graduates of other courses show decisive superiority in the number of offices held per graduate.

Information showing the participation of parents of graduates in local organizations indicates that the parents of the graduates in vocational agriculture belong to more organizations, attend them more regularly, and hold a larger number of offices than do the parents of other graduates.

The inference may be drawn from this data that training in vocational agriculture does not encourage participation in local organizations. However, the limited number of cases and the absence of information on a number of closely related factors

TABLE 6
PARTICIPATION OF GRADUATES AND THEIR PARENTS IN LOCAL
ORGANIZATIONS, 1931

Activity	All Graduates		Graduates of Elective Schools	
	Vocational Agriculture	Other	Vocational Agriculture	Other
Number of graduates . . .	75	93	41	28
Memberships per 10 graduates . .	7.9	9.0	6.8	5.7
Per cent of regular attendance . .	25	26	31	22
Offices held per 10 graduates . .	.9	1.6	.5	1.4
PARENTS OF GRADUATES				
Memberships	35	24	38	21
Attendance	48	35	54	41
Offices held	7.7	5.4	10.0	6.1

indicates that judgment should be withheld until more complete information is available.

RELATION OF TRAINING TO CHANGES IN STUDENT OPINION

While teachers of vocational agriculture make little studied attempt to change the opinions of their students, it has been generally assumed that changes in opinion accompany the mastery of agricultural subject matter, and that change in opinion may constitute a valid result of teaching. The measurement of opinion has the advantages that it registers at the time the course is

being taken and also that a change in opinion may be registered which may be insufficient to materially change activities at the time. It was assumed that the opinion towards farming as an occupation and towards coöperative marketing organization would be representative of the opinions which training in vocational agriculture might reasonably be expected to change. A rating scale was constructed for each, similar to those advocated by Thurstone.² Twenty-four statements were used in the scale for measuring opinion towards farming and 13 statements were included in the scale for measuring opinion towards coöperative marketing. Rank differences were established by the ranking given these questions by 200 college students. The resulting value determined for each statement was determined to the nearest tenth and multiplied by ten to avoid decimals in the scores obtained.

Since the change in attitude of the graduates as a result of their teaching cannot now be determined, freshmen and seniors were rated. Ratings in the same schools of the two classes were compared with each other and also with the present ratings of opinion towards farming secured from the graduates. Graduates were not rated on opinion towards coöperative marketing.

STRENGTH OF OPINION TOWARDS FARMING

The scores obtained from the various groups indicate that the seniors taking vocational agriculture have an appreciably higher opinion towards farming as an occupation than the freshmen enrolled in vocational agriculture (Table 7). In fact, the seniors have as high opinion towards farming as the graduates who took vocational agriculture.

Freshmen not enrolled in vocational agriculture have a somewhat lower opinion towards farming as a vocation but this opinion is considerably higher than the opinion of seniors not taking

² L. L. Thurstone, "The Measurement of Opinion," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 22:1928, pp. 415-430.

vocational agriculture. Graduates of other courses have more favorable opinion towards farming than do either the freshmen or the seniors in those courses. Freshmen, seniors, and graduates in vocational agriculture average over 90 points higher in their opinion towards farming than do freshmen, seniors, and graduates in other courses. Freshmen show least difference, seniors

TABLE 7

Class	STRENGTH OF OPINION TOWARDS THE OCCUPATION OF FARMING			
	<i>Vocational Agriculture</i>		<i>Other Courses</i>	
	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Average Score</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Average Score</i>
Total				
Freshmen	37	844	69	820
Seniors	32	921	84	761
Graduates	76	919	92	835
Sons of Farmers				
Freshmen	36	792	8	722
Seniors	30	932	16	750
Graduates	70	920	50	926
Graduates farming now . .	52	943	37	921

show most, while the graduates occupy a middle position, though the graduates as a whole show more favorable opinions towards farming than the students.

Sons of farmers, enrolled in vocational agriculture, have a less favorable opinion towards farming than do all freshmen in vocational agriculture. Seniors and graduates who are sons of farmers do not vary greatly from all seniors and graduates in vocational agriculture. Graduates who are sons of farmers, who took vocational agriculture, and who are farming now, show the highest opinion towards farming of any group. Freshmen who are sons of farmers and who are now not enrolled in vocational agriculture have the least favorable opinion towards farming as an occupation. This opinion is improved somewhat for the seniors. Graduates of other courses who are sons of farmers and who are

now farming show about the same opinion towards farming as those who took vocational agriculture.

Consideration of the ratings indicates that the teaching of vocational agriculture does materially affect the student's opinion towards farming. It is important also to notice the leveling out of opinion towards farming among the graduates who remain in the home community.

STRENGTH OF OPINION TOWARDS COÖPERATIVE MARKETING

In general, this test shows results similar to those obtained in testing opinion towards farming. However, in some ways the differences are smaller and show greater regularity. Freshmen enrolled in vocational agriculture and those enrolled in other courses exhibit practically the same score towards coöperative marketing. Seniors in vocational agriculture and in other courses show appreciably higher scores than the freshmen, but the seniors in vocational agriculture changed more than other seniors though the difference is not as striking as the difference in opinion towards farming. When only the sons of farmers are considered, the other freshmen not only score lower than the freshmen in vocational agriculture, but also the seniors in vocational agriculture score higher towards coöperative marketing than do the other seniors.

TABLE 8

THE STRENGTH OF OPINION TOWARDS COÖPERATIVE MARKETING

<i>Class</i>	<i>Vocational Agriculture</i>		<i>Other Courses</i>	
	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Average Score</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Average Score</i>
Total				
Freshmen	39	648	69	650
Seniors	33	780	83	768
Sons of Farmers				
Freshmen	36	639	8	611
Seniors	31	771	16	676

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Though two or more courses in vocational agriculture cannot be expected to revolutionize the opinion or the activities of high-school students either before or after graduation, data indicate that such training is associated with less movement from the home community, more satisfactory occupational adjustment, less active participation in local organizations, and stronger opinion towards farming as an occupation and towards coöperative marketing. Comparisons, made in schools where vocational agriculture is elective and where both vocational and other students are sons of farmers, tend to eliminate important sources of difference and indicate that some of the differences are a result of training in vocational agriculture. While no attempt was made to measure definitely the relation of community standards to the changes noted, the changes seem to continue after graduation if they are in line with such standards.

Results of this investigation indicate that certain sociological effects of instruction are present and can be measured. Teachers should be encouraged to assist students towards more satisfactory social adjustments, and research workers should be encouraged to undertake long-time experimental studies, not only of the results of teaching but of other social forces as well.

EDUCATION AND PROGRESS

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The attention of educators in recent years has been directed chiefly to scientific method. The result of this is a neglect of the larger aspects of education in relation to the progress of civilization. Now and then a voice is heard calling educational forces to take their eyes from the machinery long enough to locate the distant goal once more. On the whole little attention has been paid to these warnings. Details of curriculum and method, of organization and administration, have quite largely dominated educational thinking during the past two decades. Until some general criterion can be accepted for testing each particular step in education, there is little hope of utilizing the public-school system as a means of serving or improving our civilization.

The determination of aim must rest in part upon an understanding of the nature of progress. It is at this point that the first attack must be made upon the problem of education's contribution to civilization. In view of the divergent attitudes towards the nature and meaning of progress, there is need for a careful analysis of the various basic assumptions regarding the nature and facts of progress. Five possible theories appear, each of which has its emphatic supporters.

The first of these theories is that there is no progress at all but rather retrogression. According to Rousseau, as civilization advances mankind becomes worse off. Changes have represented retrogression, not progress. Bernard Shaw's *Three Plays for Puritans* supports this same belief that we are going backward. One need not go beyond Carpenter's title, *The Cause and Cure of Civilization*, to recognize his similar position. According to

¹ Some of the statements in this article repeat the substance of statements in the Author's book, *A Social Basis of Education* (New York: The Crowell Publishing Company, 1934).

this theory the increasing complications of life constitute increasing hindrances to the betterment of life. The more intricate the machinery of government and business and communication and social life, the further removed we are from the ideal goal. "Back to nature," cried Rousseau.

If this theory be true, education can have little to do with the improvement of human life. Its chief service would necessarily be to train children in attitudes of protest against our complicated and increasingly intricate civilization. Perhaps something might be done to cultivate mental attitudes intended to meet the stress of a nerve-wracking social order. No large program of social engineering, however, is conceivable as a task of the school system if we are retrogressing rather than moving forward.

In spite of the grounds for pessimism in modern civilization, the evidence is overwhelming against such a conclusion as that implied in this first theory. One need but to compare any previous century with the present to see that for every disadvantage we are experiencing, there are scores of advantages. The achievements in the field of scientifically controlled health have forever removed from civilized people the haunting dread of a sweeping pestilence such as often scourged large areas in earlier periods. Our economic status may not be as secure as some optimists declared as recently as 1929, but the terrible poverty in many parts of the world even now, and in the most highly civilized parts of the world only a few centuries ago, simply does not exist in highly civilized society today. We are making gains in the field of economic security. The horrors of war were increased by the devices which modern science has produced, but the tortures practised in primitive warfare have not been tolerated by any civilized nation in recent conflicts. Still more significant is the fact that the conscience of civilized man in regard to war has been amazingly sensitized within the present generation.

Positive evidences of international friendship and of a growing ideal of human brotherhood have been greatly multiplied within the past half century. While individualism is still conspicuous, social sympathy is finding effective expression in meeting the problems created by selfishness to a degree hitherto unknown. It is difficult to read history with an eye to specific detail without arriving at a clear conviction that the gains in civilization have far outweighed the losses in the last two or three milleniums. If one is careful to go back into the study of primitive man and survey the entire human episode, he can hardly maintain that prehistoric life or the earliest forms of barbarism were superior to the civilization of today with all its imperfections.

A second theory is that we are neither progressing nor retrogressing—rather we are going nowhere. In an unpublished manuscript of Sumner's quoted by Keller in his *Societal Evolution*, that famous sociologist compared the progress of civilization to the drifting of the clouds. He says in substance that while the clouds move according to forces acting under definite laws, they move towards no goal. Whether they drift in one direction or another matters not; actually they never arrive. So with civilization. It changes, and doubtless changes under forces conforming to some discoverable laws. But there is no significance in its changes. It has no goal. It drifts along. Its direction is doubtless determined by social laws, but it can never arrive, for there is no objective that has any meaning. In greater or less degree this theory finds considerable favor with many social thinkers. Progress is impossible to define. We have no way of knowing what is better and what is worse. We could, therefore, not recognize progress if it were taking place.

Such a theory may not seem quite so pessimistic as the former but it can make no greater claims for optimism. If there is no goal and therefore no possibility of progress, then again educa-

tion has little service to render. It may enable its products to adjust themselves a little more aptly to the momentary conditions of their environment, but it cannot contribute towards any permanent improvement of the human race. At best it is a sort of palliative against the pains and misfortunes of the moment.

The arguments against this position are too extensive to develop at this point. They are implied in some degree in the direction of the fifth theory to be discussed later. An overview of the long history of human life upon the earth, in this instance as in the previous instance, forces the conclusion that changes represent genuine improvement and not blind meaningless drifting.

A third theory is that progress is taking place according to definite laws, but that it is not continuous. Civilization rather moves in cycles—sometimes forward—sometimes backward. The analogy would be truer to the words "Sometimes upward—sometimes downward." This theory has been most recently and elaborately developed by Oswald Spengler in his *Decline of the West*. Great movements take place in human civilization over long periods of time. Forces too stupendous to be understood or modified by human thought and purpose carry civilization upward for a time and then as inevitably downward through a period of decline. History reveals cycle after cycle in the great civilizations of the world. No two cycles are exactly alike, even as no two kinds of flowers are alike. The rose differs from the lily and the crocus from the buttercup. But all flowers share in common a cycle of budding, blooming, fading, and dying. Likewise, civilizations, although they may differ in many respects and appear in many forms, are all doomed to the same general law involving an advance to a high crest of achievement and an inescapable decline in which their earlier glory fades. If Spengler and his spiritual kin are correct then education has little significance for civilization as a process.

Its blunders cannot prevent the period of development and progress. Its genius cannot prevent the period of decline. Its influence is too feeble to change the gigantic movements of time. Again, its only service can be to equip the minds of its products with such moods and attitudes as may somewhat offset the sting of failure during periods of decline. It has little to offer because it is little needed during periods of progress.

Not much evidence can be found in history to refute directly the theory of cycles. History has revealed many instances of rise and decline. The answer must rather be found in an increasingly penetrating analysis of the forces which have been operating in history, and of the forces which are now known to operate in human society. The sociologist must discover whether the movements of history have followed laws which could be observed and formulated and whether the forces working in accordance with those laws are subject to human control. If the scientific approach to the study of society reveals such forces and such laws and indicates a possibility of human control of those forces under a program of highly organized education and discussion, then it might be possible to modify the experiences of the past and to control the changes of society sufficiently to alter the periods of decline, if not altogether to prevent them.

The fourth theory is that progress is taking place on a stupendous scale. There may be occasional brief periods of retrogression, but they are incidental as compared to the momentous forward movement of civilization as a whole. "The waves may be receding but the tide is coming in." Herbert Spencer's theory is of this sort. Evolution in the biological world offered the clue to evolution in social experience. Spencer saw in changes in civilization a colossal process of evolution carrying society inevitably onward and forward and upward. As seen by Spengler, and also by Spencer, the forces determining this evolution of

society are so stupendous that no human effort or interference can avail to retard or hasten the process. Evolution represents a law of such a nature that as complications increase higher differentiations take place and progress is assured. This views first the cycles of decline as trivial incidents in the larger picture of progress.

If this view is sound there is little to challenge education. Progress is irresistible. There is, therefore, no need of education to secure it. The only service of the schools is the better adjustment of each individual to the great movements in which he finds himself swept forward. The value of education at best is but individual and temporary.

This view has been challenged in recent years by arguments that are difficult to refute. This challenge involves two lines of reasoning. The first questions the soundness of the analogy between social evolution and biological evolution. The second is based on an increasing understanding of the forces operating in social change.

Superficially, social change resembles the changes in the biological world at so many points that the use of the same word seems highly appropriate. Most of the recent textbooks dealing with sociology, especially those dealing with its educational aspects, assume without argument that social evolution is a fact and that it is supported by its analogy to biological evolution. One has but to note the book titles and chapter titles in the field of applied sociology during the last generation to see how general has been this acceptance. The analogy has been accepted, however, chiefly because of the superficial similarities. The few efforts to press the analogy into specific method have not only been unconvincing but have tended to reveal the basic fallacy involved. Biological evolution is based upon variation among the individuals in each generation and the survival of those best adapted to their environment. The changes brought about in

the evolution of animal forms have not been due to changes in any individual during its own lifetime. If such changes have occurred, they have had no perceptible influence upon the next generation. The change in any generation has been a change of tendency towards survival, not a modification of individuals in the species. If dark fish found their way into a shallow lake with a floor of light-colored stones, the change after a few generations towards a lighter color was not due to the tendency of any individual fish to become lighter colored during its lifetime but to the fact that the lighter colored individuals in each generation survived through their protective coloring against a light-colored background, while the dark members of that generation were more quickly discovered by their enemies and devoured. Each generation of fishes in that species tended towards a greater proportion of light-colored individuals because only light-colored individuals survived to leave offspring. The variation occurs from generation to generation and not within the individual.

It is important to note this fact of change from generation to generation rather than within the individual when attempting to apply the analogy to social change. Is social evolution a process of changes analogous to the case just cited? Are there individuals in each generation of institutions or traditions or qualities or whatever other unit of social characteristics that may be selected? Does one generation disappear leaving a variety of offspring some of which survive because of their adaptation, others being destroyed because they are ill adapted to their environment? Is there indeed any such succession of individuals and offspring in institutions and qualities and traditions? Social change is rather a gradual adjustment of a particular institution to its changing environment, its survival being made possible by changes within itself. The same may be said of traditions and qualities and of practically any other unit of social organization.

The changes that take place in society are modifications of each such unit to fit the changing needs. Whatever survives is enabled to do so because it is modified to suit those needs.

The analogy is far closer to the education of an individual than to the evolution of a species. Just as the individual is adaptable to his environment, and shifts in one aspect to meet one condition, in another to meet another, and thus becomes quite a different person after a few years of adjustment to society, so society itself is being modified by its adjustment to the forces that play upon it—a little here, a little there—successive forces each in a slight degree amounting to profound changes over long periods of time.

If one were to be precise one must use the term societal education rather than societal evolution. In other words, even if there are tendencies in the animal world which lead to changes of a profound nature in a given species without consciousness or purpose on the part of that species, there is no ground for assuming that there are any such innate tendencies in society which bring about profound changes without social consciousness or purpose. The animal world may evolve without aim or effort on its own part. Society changes only because of forces which its own members control. This does not imply that individuals will be aware of their influence upon social change, nor that any individual is aware of the outcome of a particular program of social behavior. Military preparation is supported by its advocates on the ground that it will tend to secure the peace of the world. The pacifist insists that military preparation works in just the opposite way. But the policy has some effect upon the future even though one or the other or both may be mistaken in advance as to what that effect is to be.

The second line of argument which has been leveled against the theory of inevitable social evolution is based on an analysis of social forces. One can hardly read the literature in the field of sociology without recognizing the fact that many of the forces

which determine social change are becoming more clearly understood. If the evidences of social scientists point towards a final analysis of social forces into their component parts, the conclusion is inescapable that social change is the product of definite forces. Once these forces become clearly understood they may be utilized by social engineers for the reconstruction of society according to a purposeful pattern. This conclusion opens the way for the final theory and already indicates the grounds upon which it is based.

The fifth and final theory, then, is that progress is possible and to whatever degree it occurs it is the outcome of the conduct of the members of society. In so far as society becomes self-conscious and coöperates to carry out a program of social engineering, it is possible for society to be self-directing. Whether or not there is an absolute aim towards which society ought to move, at least definite aims may be accepted and social progress directed towards them. If there is a best direction of social change, patient analysis of human nature and of history will ultimately discover that best direction; and with the accumulated experience of persistent efforts at social engineering success in attaining that ideal goal should be increasingly realized.

The task of education in the light of such a theory is clear and challenging. If the progress of civilization depends upon a program of social engineering, then the task of education is nothing short of such a program of social engineering. No palliative, no mere program of incidental and individual adjustment to inevitable disaster! Rather the future of civilization is in the hands of educators! Were it possible to convince every educator that the progress of civilization is wholly dependent upon human behavior and that human behavior can be largely controlled by an educational process, a social renaissance such as the world has never seen could be achieved in a single generation.

But a second article of faith will be necessary on the part of all

educators before the first can be brought to realization. The discovery that information does not modify behavior stands between the educator and the ideal social order. Such changes have come about as a result of human behavior, but human behavior is not the product primarily of mere intelligence. It is the product of desires and interests utilizing a greater or less degree of intelligence. The tragedies of the past have been partly due to ignorance, but not wholly. The tragedies of the present are probably due less to ignorance than to selfish individualism. The destinies of thousands may be determined by the choice of one. The selfish ambition of Alexander the Great changed the total complexion of eastern culture for all time. Napoleon's ambition brought suffering upon countless thousands not only in his own but in later generations. The control of an increasingly efficient industrial system by individualists concerned more with profits than with the serving of human needs is already changing the course of civilization—a change not altogether favoring the highest happiness of the race. Such progress must wait for the training of generations whose members are more concerned for the total social well-being than for the satisfaction of their individual impulses and desires. Not until the schools discover how to train the interests and attitudes of a generation can unimpeded progress be brought about. The achievement of the finest life for society and all its members awaits a program of social engineering which includes both the cultivation of thoroughly social attitudes and the building up of intelligence as to how to make those attitudes successful in the social order. There is in sight at the present time no institution which appears to be in a position of advantage to undertake this stupendous task of social engineering as effectively as the public-school system. Can the science of education perfect a method? Can the social prophet inspire educators with a conviction of this possibility?

SOVIET EDUCATION AND CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

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Soviet planning has been stressed in America mainly from its industrial and technological aspect. The *Dnieprostroi* and *Magnitogorsk* have become for us the symbols of the achievement of New Russia. Yet, for over ten years, an experiment has been going on in Russia, an experiment highly organized and planned, which if successful will have infinitely more far-reaching consequences than anything else that Russia has so far attempted. I am referring to the program of Soviet education, a program with no less a goal for its object than that of revolutionizing what we have heretofore called "human nature." And yet with the exception of such splendid studies of the subject as Pinkevitch's *Education in New Russia*, Thomas Woody's *New Minds: New Men?* (studies essentially technical, and meant primarily for students of education rather than for the lay reader), Ogniyov's *Diary of a Communist School Boy*, and the occasional references of men like George F. Counts and John Dewey, we have remained ignorant of this vast and momentous experiment.

The Soviet leaders have long been aware that unless they succeed in modifying or "revolutionizing" human nature, *bourgeois* human nature, all of their achievement in the field of industry and technology will avail them nothing, and the newly acquired means of production, acquired at so terrific a cost of human misery and privation, will become an added tool in the hands of capitalistically minded exploiters. Human nature as a result of 2,000 years of Christian, feudal, and *bourgeois* economy and education has become individualistic, sentimental, nationalistic, romantic. Added to all this, the Russian suffers from a disease peculiarly his own, a disease so beautifully sym-

bolized by the Russian *Nitchevo* and by the Oblomovism of Gontcharov's famous novel: the disease of passive acceptance. Russia has set out on the gigantic experiment of substituting for these qualities of *bourgeois* mind a new ideology—socialism-collectivism as against individualism; realism as against a sickly romanticism; class consciousness (followed by a classless society); and internationalism as against the present nationalism; an unflinching materialism as against a tolerant and vacillating idealism; militant activism as against a slothful passivism. This tremendous project is to be realized through highly organized and directed education, education in which the academic school-room plays only a relatively insignificant part.

Social philosophers have always speculated on the possibility of consciously directing the course of societal evolution through the control of educational agencies. Plato's political philosophy is essentially based on this concept. Erasmus, one of our wisest educational philosophers, agrees fully with Plato: "Give me for a few years the direction of education and I agree to transform the world." Both, however, were aware of the difficulty of bringing about any basic change in the psychology of the adult population and Plato openly admits in *The Republic* the impossibility of "persuading the men with whom we begin our new state, but I think that their sons and the next generation and the subsequent generations might be taught to believe it."

The Soviet leaders, too, were cognizant of this difficulty and, while not altogether overlooking the adult population, have bent their efforts primarily in the direction of the children. And so we have Lenin say, in one of his first speeches, immediately after the October revolution, "Give me five years to teach the children and the seeds sown shall not be uprooted"; and again in addressing the children of Russia: "You must be the first constructors of communist society; among the millions of builders must be included every young man and young girl. Without

drawing the whole mass of worker's and peasant's youth into the building of communism, you will be unable to erect a communist society."

For the purpose of building this new social order through the metamorphosis of the individual psychology of its children, the Soviet leaders have reorganized the entire educational system from the top to bottom, harnessing to it every vehicle of extra-mural education: the newspaper, the movie, radio, literature, art, posters, clubs, reading rooms, factory schools, children's organizations, such as the Pioneers, Octobrists, and Komsomols, to mention only a few. Under this all-powerful and all-inclusive system a ruthless, never-ceasing process of indoctrination is taking place which promises to bear exactly the fruit the Soviet leaders expected. How fanatical the Russian educator is about this purpose and his program may be judged from the fact that at the All-Russian Conference on Education in 1924, a conference consisting of some of the most prominent leaders of Russia, hypnotic suggestion was seriously discussed as a method of attack in education. (The fact that it was not accepted is not so important. We have no less an authority than Pinkevitch, president of the First University of Moscow, vouch for this fact.)

To the criticism of our Western liberals that education must be free, the Russian educator replies that education never *was* free; that the cry "keep politics out of school" is hypocrisy; that schools never were or will be free as long as the state exists; and the resultant psychology of the child will invariably reflect the psychology of the class that own the means of production. To quote Pinkevitch again: "Our aim is to build a true culture—no nation has done so yet. True culture must be founded on the good of all. School, educational philosophy, and political life must all be united. No true educational philosophy can be founded in a predatory society. The uniformity and order of a disciplined collective society is better than the chaos and waste

that are inevitable in a 'free' and individualistic one. To lay the educational bricks in building this type of culture is the high duty of current education."

It is impossible within the scope of this article to go into any details of the techniques employed by the Soviet educators in bringing about their goal. New textbooks written exclusively from the Marxian point of view; a specially adapted Dalton plan, which recently received some publicity in our American newspapers; manual training emphasizing the dignity of labor—these are only a few. One of the most important instruments of educational planning in Soviet Russia, however, is its children's literature, a literature which in many respects is entirely new. There was, of course, a children's literature under the old régime. It consisted, however, mainly of the native *Skazki*; the *Baba Yaga* (or witch) series; the *Zsharptitza* (or fire bird) variety, set so beautifully to music by Stravinsky; and the "beautiful princess" type, mostly an imitation of the European. One can easily see how much at variance this literature is with the communist ideology—the superstitiousness of the first, the fantasy of the second, and the idealization of aristocracy of the third. Here and there an allegorical poem dealing more or less critically with the contemporary Russian scene found its way into our prerevolutionary children's anthologies, such as the following poem of Nekrasov:

THE UNMOWN PATCH

Late Autumn; the rooks have flown
The fields are empty and the woods wind blown
All but a thin patch of overripe rye
Lonely and melancholy like a far away sigh
As if the stalks plaintively moan:
"Lonely and sad is the late autumn wind
Bitter to spill our ripe grains alone;
Why are we punished? how have we sinned?"

Night after night we are tattered and torn;
Bent low to the ground evening and morn
By rabbit, and bird and late Autumn blast
Where is our reaper? Won't he come at last?"

And the wind brings an answer: "weary and sore
Your reaper has no strength left for you any more."

(Translation by Simon Doniger)

Such poems were rare exceptions however; nor was there ever any attempt on the part of our teachers to explain to us the meaning of the allegory. It remained a rather nostalgic pastorate and it was not until long after childhood that the significance of the thing finally dawned upon us.

The new children's literature in Russia is powerfully direct, idiomatic, and not subtle. Its purpose is frank and obvious. It glorifies the machine, finding in it more than an adequate substitute for the old fairy tales; it pokes fun at the sentimental romanticism of old Russia, its religiousness and superstition; it emphasizes the solidarity and dignity of labor and the needs and values of collective and coöperative living under the new society. It stresses militant organization—at first under dictatorship to be followed later by absolute self-government—class consciousness to be followed later by classlessness. Oddly enough this purposiveness so frequently the "death knell" of art has not prevented this frankly propagandistic literature from becoming a powerful, vital, frequently beautiful art.

Schillinger in a recent lecture on Russian music spoke about new folksongs that are in the process of being created around the machine, particularly the tractor, in the peasant community. We shall probably have to wait for some time before the beautiful songs of old Russia are adequately replaced by new ones—music, anyway, has always lagged behind times. But there is no question that in the field of children's literature, Russia has succeeded in

creating a new and true art—whether its utilitarian purpose is successful or not.

Needless to say the distribution of this literature is not left to chance. A highly organized system has been developed by the Soviet educational authorities to bring this literature to the erstwhile darkest corners of Russia. In addition to the regular facilities of libraries and reading rooms, travelling exhibitions using illuminated cylinders bring this literature to the attention of both city and village children in the most vivid way. More than that—at various points stations are established to study the reactions of the children to this literature, both as to content, form, color, and illustration; subsequent publications are based on the results of these studies.

Any article on the children's literature in Russia would be both unfair and incomplete without mentioning the illustrations that accompany these children's works. Here again Marshak's *Post* with its beautiful, yet highly realistic colorful illustrations is a fine and typical example. Russia has succeeded in enlisting its finest writers and artists (painters and illustrators) in its campaign in the education of the young. Here they find one field where purposiveness and propaganda is not destructive to their art. Possibly it is done at the expense of the arts in the adult fields. Here as in music we shall probably have to wait until the *sturm und drang* of the first few decades of the revolution have given place to an atmosphere more conducive to creative work.

Meanwhile, Russia's new children's literature is the finest refutation of the arguments so frequently brought forth that communism and the machine are antithetical and deadly to man's creative efforts. It is sufficient unto itself and a grand promise for the future.

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SEX DIFFERENCES IN SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT AMONG SPANISH-AMERICAN AND ANGLO- AMERICAN CHILDREN

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For the purpose of orientation it seems advisable to review first the nature of the population represented in this study. The term Spanish-American is used to indicate those pupils who respond to a question of nationality with either of the terms "Mexican" or "Spanish." They belong to a group whose customs, language, and religion represent the blending of the more primitive Indian cultures with that of their Spanish conquerors. They have been American citizens for three generations but because of racial intolerances social attitudes still operate in many instances to segregate them, virtually enforcing upon them the preservation of their national customs and language. Because of the antagonisms which exist a rational treatment of the problems involved in Americanization is too seldom encountered. The schools have done a wonderful work but unfortunately the teachers are not entirely free from bias. There are, on the one hand, those who overestimate the handicap under which the Spanish-speaking child labors, and defend him blindly and obstinately, often to his permanent injury; while, at the other extreme, there are the contemptuous groups whose indifference or willful antagonisms operate to intimidate or to develop attitudes of sullenness and indifference.

The Anglo-American group is largely composed of descendants of Nordic and Celtic ancestry. A large proportion of the parents of the children have emigrated from other parts of the United States, but Texas has provided a larger percentage of

this group than any other State. Although the people coming from the North or East may not hold well-defined racial antagonisms when they arrive, unfortunately, the "border attitude" is not a difficult one to acquire. It is all too obvious to the careful observer that these prejudices and biases will not solve the problems involved. They must be solved through more rational thought and through more objective methods of study.

This study was made in southwestern New Mexico and, in order that a cross-section of the school population of this section might be obtained, samples were taken from the following types of districts:

- District 1. A rural county system in an agricultural region
- Districts 2 and 3. Small mining villages
- District 4. A large mining town
- District 5. A railroad town situated in a district that combines mining and agricultural interests

A total of 340 Spanish-American and 283 Anglo-American children were studied, and 4,646 tests of both the objective and the essay type were administered. The essay tests were so constructed that they carried an equal number of points as the objective tests and were over the same content material. All of the tests were checked and graded twice, the essay tests being graded by more than one grader in order that the subjective factor might be controlled to as large an extent as possible. Care was exercised so that the graders did not know whether they were grading tests of the Spanish-American or the Anglo-American children. In each case the objective tests were administered first so that if any practice effect occurs the essay test scores will be the ones affected.

The data obtained makes possible a study of (1) the relative numbers of Spanish-American boys and girls and of Anglo-American boys and girls who are attending school in grades three to eight, inclusive, (2) differences in mean scores earned

by Anglo-American boys and Anglo-American girls on objective and essay tests, (3) differences in mean scores earned by Spanish-American boys and Anglo-American girls on objective and essay tests, and (4) the relative amount of language handicap experienced by Spanish-American girls as compared to Spanish-American boys.

An examination of the data reveals a rather interesting condition. Whereas the Anglo-American girls exceed the boys in numbers enrolled in school by 16.03 per cent, the Spanish-American boys exceed the Spanish-American girls by 25.03 per cent. Although the number of cases may not warrant the drawing of general conclusions in this particular instance, nevertheless, it seems quite probable that these results are the products of different racial attitudes. The Anglo-Americans may be more inclined to encourage their boys to quit school and go to work in the mines, on the range, or in the fields, whereas the Spanish-Americans keep their girls at home or encourage them to contribute to the family support at an earlier age than is required of the boys.

SEX DIFFERENCES AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

Table I gives the tabulated results of scores earned on the English tests of both the objective and essay type by the two sexes of each racial group. An examination of the critical ratios or the results obtained by dividing the differences in means by the probable errors of these differences does not show that there are any statistically significant differences. Assuming a critical ratio of 4 as being necessary before a real difference exists it can be readily seen that there are no values in the critical ratio column that even approach the required standard.

It would seem reasonable to assume that responding to an essay test would require more knowledge and application of the English language than responding to the new-type objective

TABLE I

COMPARATIVE ACHIEVEMENT BY MEAN SCORES ON ENGLISH TESTS OF
ANGLO-AMERICAN BOYS AND ANGLO-AMERICAN GIRLS VERSUS
SPANISH-AMERICAN BOYS AND SPANISH-AMERICAN GIRLS

Grade	Race	Sex	Objective		Essay		Per Cent Loss	Per Cent Gain	Critical Ratio
			Mean	PEM	Mean	PEM			
III	AA	boy	29.50	1.33	30.50	1.22		3.39	.54
		girl	28.33	1.91	31.96	.84		12.81	1.74
	SA	boy	27.79	1.28	28.00	1.17		.76	.16
		girl	28.51	1.02	30.24	.69		6.23	1.40
IV	AA	boy	21.30	2.23	22.90	2.31		7.51	.50
		girl	20.94	1.84	22.94	1.94		9.57	.75
	SA	boy	16.33	1.31	17.63	1.24		7.96	.72
		girl	18.11	1.71	19.64	1.64		8.45	.65
V	AA	boy	34.97	1.24	32.00	1.39	8.52		1.60
		girl	37.79	.98	36.00	1.15	4.71		.85
	SA	boy	31.82	1.04	30.96	1.11	4.45		.57
		girl	30.36	1.06	28.14	1.12	8.50		1.44
VI	AA	boy	35.00	1.69	39.00	1.77		11.43	1.63
		girl	40.53	1.58	45.18	1.72		11.47	1.95
	SA	boy	32.75	1.33	33.81	1.39		3.24	.55
		girl	30.53	1.29	31.10	1.32		1.87	.31
VII	AA	boy	76.21	5.64	82.21	5.78		7.87	.75
		girl	77.52	4.60	84.00	4.74		8.36	.98
	SA	boy	69.30	3.33	68.40	3.20	1.31		.20
		girl	70.00	4.42	63.80	4.14	8.86		1.02
VIII	AA	boy	33.81	2.45	36.09	2.25		6.74	.69
		girl	40.88	2.93	45.00	2.32		10.28	1.10
	SA	boy	28.91	1.54	31.64	1.59		9.44	1.23
		girl	28.80	3.71	29.65	1.94		2.95	.20

examination. In other words, the former involves more writing and application of English as well as a more definite recall of vocabulary and language forms. Due to this fact there might exist a sex difference in responding to the two types of tests. Those factors which might operate to cause a sex difference with the Spanish-American group might be due to two causes: (1) the Spanish-American boys mingle more freely with the Anglo-Americans on the streets and in athletic competition and therefore learn the language better; (2) the girls are in the home more than the boys and in these homes English rarely is spoken.

Here the children constantly hear and use their native language.

Concerning sex differences in mental and emotional traits as denoted by the trend of findings in psychological experimentation, Garrett says:¹ "Girls almost always do better than boys on vocabulary tests, as well as on tests involving language usage and verbal association." This might lead one to expect to find a sex difference in the manner of response with the Anglo-Americans also.

Although, as has been pointed out, there are no differences which may be considered significant there are certain tendencies in the behavior of scores that seem to indicate slight sex difference trends.

For instance, in the third grade, it can be noted that there is a tendency for the Spanish-American girls as well as for the Anglo-American girls to gain slightly more than the boys on the essay test, but in the fourth grade this relative gain is considerably reduced. In the fifth grade, Anglo-American girls lose less than Anglo-American boys on the essay test while the reverse is true for the Spanish-Americans. On the essay examination Anglo-American girls of the fifth grade lose less on mean score to about the extent that Spanish-American girls lose more than boys. Although the Spanish-American boys lose on mean scores, their loss is not so great as is that of the girls of the same nationality. Results for the seventh and eighth grades are similar to those of the sixth grade. With the Anglo-American, if upon taking the essay test either sex gains a larger percentage on mean score, it is the girls, and with the Spanish-Americans it is the boys who gain more or lose less upon taking the old-type examination.

Table II shows similar results for history. Some difference in achievement is indicated, however. In English, regardless of race, scores made by girls on objective tests usually are higher

¹ Henry E. Garrett, *Great Experiments in Psychology* (New York: The Century Company, 1930), p. 86.

TABLE II

COMPARATIVE ACHIEVEMENT BY MEAN SCORES ON HISTORY TESTS OF
ANGLO-AMERICAN BOYS AND ANGLO-AMERICAN GIRLS VERSUS
SPANISH-AMERICAN BOYS AND SPANISH-AMERICAN GIRLS

Grade	Race	Sex	Objective		Essay		Per Cent Loss	Per Cent Gain	Critical Ratio
			Mean	PEM	Mean	PEM			
V	AA	boy	100.61	3.90	101.94	3.77		1.32	.25
		girl	88.87	3.44	92.07	3.60		3.60	.64
	SA	boy	71.01	4.22	58.23	3.98	18.00		2.21
		girl	65.63	4.26	51.93	3.66	20.87		2.46
VI	AA	boy	49.21	4.02	50.82	3.75		3.27	.29
		girl	48.02	3.37	59.06	3.60		22.97	2.24
	SA	boy	29.80	3.23	33.93	3.16		13.86	.92
		girl	26.08	2.77	28.90	2.63		11.24	.74
VII	AA	boy	37.00	3.17	41.68	3.14		12.38	.98
		girl	39.00	2.44	44.98	2.59		15.08	1.68
	SA	boy	37.60	2.85	38.00	2.43		1.06	.11
		girl	36.01	2.81	30.57	2.10	15.17		1.55
VIII	AA	boy	43.00	1.94	43.63	1.69		1.47	.25
		girl	41.50	2.13	42.80	1.88		3.13	.45
	SA	boy	35.26	1.76	34.13	1.53	3.20		.48
		girl	33.64	2.12	29.86	1.35	10.91		1.55

than those of the boys. In history, on the other hand, the boys score higher than the girls on the objective tests.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Whereas the Anglo-American girls exceed the boys in numbers enrolled in school by 16.03 per cent, the Spanish-American boys exceed the Spanish-American girls by 25.03 per cent. This fact would indicate a difference in social values placed upon education by the two racial groups concerned.

2. Although the critical ratios indicate that there are no sex differences, in responding to the two types of tests, sufficiently large to be considered statistically significant, there are certain tendencies which may indicate (a) that Anglo-American girls earn slightly higher scores on the essay tests than Anglo-American boys, (b) that Spanish-American boys earn a slightly higher score on the essay tests than Spanish-American girls.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE: SOME BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

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Current periodical literature abounds with fervid discussions of planning—city planning, community planning, regional planning, and production planning. Many present-day economic difficulties are due in part to failure to consider production and consumption adequately. The result of course has been that the production of goods often is unrelated to consumer demands.

It is apparent that business ceases to be profitable when the producing capacity of industry exceeds marketable demands. When this condition exists for any appreciable length of time, millions become unemployed. So, too, when an occupation becomes overcrowded, disastrous economic consequences and personal maladjustment follow. It seems, therefore, that efforts should be made so to guide youth that vocational ambitions may be frequently realized, if these are based upon the individual's ability and interest in an occupation in which there is a fair chance for entrance. And, certainly, it is reasonable that the school should consider children's vocational ambitions in terms of society's needs. Through such endeavor, individual and social gains may accrue.

That we are succeeding to a limited degree only in vocational guidance is easily portrayed. One writer has estimated that in the United States we have almost five times as many physicians as we really need.¹ And the geographical distribution of physicians is unplanned and socially unfortunate.

¹T. S. Harding, "Overproduction in the Professions," *Current History*, 1931, 34, pp. 712-720.

. . . in 1927 South Carolina and Montana had only 71 physicians per 100,000 people, while healthy California had 200.

In many rural communities there is only one dentist per 4,000 population. While California had 103 dentists per 100,000 population in 1928, Mississippi had but 19.¹

The lack of proper production and subsequent allocation of physicians brings both individual and social disaster. Thousands of physicians are today struggling to earn a living in hopelessly overcrowded districts. In contrast to the overcrowded condition of the medical profession is the more fortunate state of the veterinarian occupation. Harding estimates that it will require four or five years at the present rate of increase to make up our present-day shortage in the latter line of endeavor.

Last year there were 137 graduates from our twelve accredited veterinary schools, the Bureau of Animal Industry requiring the services of 100 of them alone—if it could get them. It will take four or five years at the present rate of increase to make up the deficit.¹

More efficient public service could be rendered if some agency could be devised which could plan and control entrance into various lines of work. The present writers are by no means certain that the schools can so anticipate vocational needs (and analyze ability with sufficient precision) as to make vocational guidance a truly profitable social enterprise for the school. They do assert, however, that children should be enabled to make vocational choices with full knowledge of vocational demands in their possession. To what extent are choices being made in terms of economic needs? This paper will survey briefly the occupations which typical boys of school age think they will follow; the writers will then comment upon the usefulness of the choices in attempts at guidance, and also upon the probable efficacy of the choices.

METHOD

The Lehman Vocational Attitude Quiz was given to a large group of school children in Topeka, Kansas, and in Kansas

¹ Harding, *op. cit.*

City, Missouri. The Vocational Attitude Quiz consists of a comprehensive and catholic list of two hundred occupations. First, the children are asked to check *only* those occupations in which they are willing to engage as life work. They are then asked to indicate, among other things, the one occupation which they most likely will follow. Full allowance should be made for the unreliability of the children's answers. The writers assume a fair degree of reliability for this simple response item. In this paper, *the writers are not concerned with the check list and its reliability*; they are dealing with the responses of the children to a simple direct question.

From the United States Census Report for 1920,² the writers ascertained the total number of white male workers engaged in various kinds of endeavor. For six age levels coefficients of correlation were computed between the total number of white male workers engaged in each occupation and the number of white boys expecting to enter each. The numbers of workers gainfully employed in more than 140 occupations were ascertained. Then, the number of boys (in each of six age groups) who expected to enter each occupation was ascertained. Parallel column presentation, therefore, showed the agreement between the frequency of occupational expectation and the frequency of occupational demand (in terms of the 1920 census figures).

If the agreement were close, the occupations having the largest number of workers gainfully employed would have been those which children mentioned most frequently as their probable vocational careers. Marked discrepancies would have been revealed clearly by consideration of the number of occupations in which large numbers of persons were employed but in which few boys expected to engage. The amount of agreement was expressed statistically by the coefficient of correla-

² Data for the 1930 census were not available at the time this manuscript was prepared. It is doubtful, however, that the 1930 data would have led to many significant differences in the findings reported herein.

tion between the two variables. Coefficients were worked out for six age levels. One would not anticipate that young children could or would make occupational choices to any marked degree consonant with society's demand for workers. However, if effective guidance (and teaching about occupational needs) occurs, one would assume that coefficients would become increasingly significant with advance in chronological age.

RESULTS

Table I shows occupational groups which include relatively large numbers of workers; these are occupational groups in which comparatively few boys expected to enlist. Table II sets forth occupational groups which include few workers; nevertheless, relatively large numbers of boys thought that they would enter these. The results were anticipated in many instances. Few schoolboys expect or want to become day laborers or to engage in any other form of humble service. Indeed, the desire to escape such a vocational fate is doubtless one reason why many boys are attending school.

The question naturally arises: To what extent will it be possible for the coming generation of boys to escape entering the types of work which most of them hope to avoid? For example, in 1920 more than 9,000,000 workers were engaged in the 15 unpopular (according to the boys' reports) occupations listed in Table I, and scarcely more than 1,000,000 workers were engaged in the 10 popular occupations listed in Table II. Only 723 boys indicated that they expected to enter one of the occupations listed in Table I, whereas 6,470 stated that they anticipated entering one of the occupations listed in Table II.

The number of workers now engaged in various lines of endeavor is of course an inadequate measure of the number of individuals that are actually needed, or that even are able to earn a living therein. Some occupations are at present badly overcrowded, and some may be experiencing a shortage. This

situation will not be alleviated if the vocational ambitions of these boys are fulfilled, for, collectively, these boys are most frequently expecting to enter the very occupations which in 1920 (and probably in 1930) were most overcrowded.

TABLE I

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS WHICH INCLUDE MANY WORKERS BUT WHICH
RELATIVELY FEW BOYS EXPECT TO ENTER

Day laborers
Salesmen and store clerks
General clerical work
Miner (miscellaneous)
Carpenter or cabinet maker
Draymen, teamster, or truck driver
Painter or paper hanger
Bus driver or chauffeur
Mechanic
Bookkeeper
Butcher or meat packer
Stationary engineer
Grocer
Shoemaker or repairer
Plumber

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS WHICH INCLUDE RELATIVELY FEW WORKERS
BUT WHICH MANY BOYS EXPECT TO ENTER

Aviator
Cowboy (for young boys only)
Civil engineer or surveyor
Electrical engineer
Lawyer
Doctor (physician, surgeon, or specialist)
Fireman or train engineer
Musician
Soldier
Architect

Tables I and II include 25 occupations. If we omit "day laborers" from our computations, 24 remain. For these 24 occupations, coefficients of correlation between the number of workers engaged in each and the number of boys expecting to follow each were computed. For the various age groups, the coefficients of correlation are presented in Table III. For these 24 occupations the relationship between number of workers and number of aspirants was linear in each age group. Table III reveals that most of the coefficients of correlation are of significant size and that all are negative. Striking indeed is the fact that the coefficients are comparable for young and for older boys. The coefficients for the higher C.A. levels appear particularly significant. They reflect again little change in efficacy of vocational choice (in terms of demand) with advance in C.A. Up to this point the writers' findings are corroborative of the findings of Proctor⁸ and others.

TABLE III
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN NUMBERS OF WHITE WORKERS IN EACH OF
24 OCCUPATIONS AND NUMBERS OF BOYS EXPECTING TO
ENTER EACH

<i>Ages</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Number of boys</i>
9 and 10	— .37	1500
11 and 12	— .47	876
13 and 14	— .14	836
15 and 16	— .34	545
17 and 18	— .28	190
8 to 18, inclusive	— .44	4354

Since the foregoing correlations are based upon data regarding 24 occupations only—extremely popular and extremely unpopular occupations—it would be invalid to conclude that

⁸ W. M. Proctor, *Psychological Tests and Guidance of High School Pupils*. Journal of Educational Research Monographs, No. 1 (Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1923), 123 pp.

they are indicative of what would be found if a large number of occupations were studied. An attempt was made, therefore, to study a relatively large number of occupations.

It was necessary to omit from our calculations some of the occupations listed in the Vocational Attitude Quiz because the terminology in the Quiz differed in some instances from that in the United States Census Report. Data for a few occupations were not usable for other reasons. For example, although there are a relatively large number of farm laborers in the United States, such workers are rarely trained in city schools. Since few of the city boys studied by the writers expressed the intention of becoming farm laborers, the data for this occupation are omitted entirely in the calculations.

A more valid study would probably have considered only the number of white male workers engaged in certain occupations in *Kansas and Missouri*. The census did not provide these data; the census report for the separate States includes combined figures for all of the racial groups. Since some kinds of work are performed largely by one race only, and since under modern conditions numerous workers migrate from the place of their birth (particularly in Kansas and Missouri), the writers decided that a study of data for the total number of workers engaged in various kinds of work in Kansas and Missouri (without regard for race differences) would prove less valid than a study of data for all white workers distributed over a wider geographical area. For this reason they used the data for white workers throughout the entire country.

One hundred thirty-eight occupations were identified which permitted comparison of the number of white boys expecting to enter each and the number of white male workers engaged in each.

Results of the study are set forth in Tables IV to VI inclusive. Table IV presents coefficients of correlation between num-

bers of white workers engaged in 138 occupations and numbers of white boys expecting (according to the boys' own statements) to enter each occupation. The coefficients of correlation are zero at each age level, there being no change in the r 's with increase of maturity. It is evident at once that these data corroborate those presented in Table III.

TABLE IV
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN NUMBERS OF WHITE WORKERS IN EACH OF
138 OCCUPATIONS AND NUMBERS OF BOYS EXPECTING TO
ENTER EACH

<i>Ages</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Eta xy</i>	<i>Eta yx</i>	<i>Number of boys</i>
9 and 10 . . .	— .01	.98	.98	2317
11 and 12 . . .	— .009	.98	.98	2735
13 and 14 . . .	— .009	.97	.99	2443
15 and 16 . . .	— .007	.93	.99	1832
17 and 18 . . .	+ .0003	.87	.99	644
8 to 18, inclusive .	— .004	.98	.78	10630

But the 138 occupations included in the calculations for Table IV probably include many types of work which fall outside the range of boys' experiences. Consequently, the boys' attitudes towards them are probably based upon little or no first-hand knowledge. As a group the boys appear to have no strong prejudice either for or against some of the occupations. Their expectations to enter the various lines of work may be based in many instances upon trivial or chance factors. In any event it is exceedingly doubtful that the vocational ambitions of the boys have much relationship to knowledge of consumer requirements or social needs. Indeed, in so far as the present writers are aware, the basic data that would be needed for passing judgment upon future social needs simply are not available.

Table V presents the coefficients of correlation between numbers of white workers in 137 occupations and numbers of white

boys expecting to enter each. Table V differs from Table IV only in that data for the day laboring group are omitted from Table V.

TABLE V

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN NUMBERS OF WHITE WORKERS IN EACH OF
137 OCCUPATIONS AND NUMBERS OF BOYS EXPECTING TO
ENTER EACH

(Same as Table IV except that day laborers are omitted from the calculations)

<i>Ages</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Eta xy</i>	<i>Eta yx</i>	<i>Number of boys</i>
9 and 10 . . .	+.02	.98	.96	2316
11 and 12 . . .	— .007	.98	.97	2725
13 and 14 . . .	+.012	.97	.97	2437
15 and 16 . . .	+.029	.93	.96	1829
17 and 18 . . .	+.048	.87	.96	641
8 to 18, inclusive .	— .003	.98	.84	10604

Table VI presents the coefficients of correlation between numbers of white workers in 113 occupations and the numbers of white boys expecting to enter each. Table VI differs from Table IV only in that the 25 occupations listed in Tables I and II are omitted.

TABLE VI

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN NUMBERS OF WHITE WORKERS IN EACH OF
113 OCCUPATIONS AND NUMBERS OF BOYS EXPECTING TO
ENTER EACH

(Same as Table IV except that the 25 occupations listed in Tables I and II are
omitted from the calculations)

<i>Ages</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Eta xy</i>	<i>Eta yx</i>	<i>Number of boys</i>
9 and 10 . . .	+.08	.68	.44	817
11 and 12 . . .	+.08	.71	.60	1859
13 and 14 . . .	+.05	.64	.51	1607
15 and 16 . . .	+.08	.62	.44	1287
17 and 18 . . .	+.05	.56	.41	454
8 to 18, inclusive .	+.08	.73	.61	6276

On the whole it seems from the foregoing data that, at the present time, the boys' choices of occupation, considered in terms of social or consumer requirements, are being made almost as blindly as would be the case if the names of the occupations were chosen by pure chance. This appears to hold at the higher age levels to the same degree as at the lower age levels (where the condition might well be expected).

FURTHER REMARKS

The writers have shown elsewhere that there is a low positive relationship between intelligence measures and occupational choice.⁴ And the tables presented in this paper show clearly that present-day boys seldom think they will enter those occupations for which there is even an appreciable demand. Indeed, the boys are apparently clinging to illusory hopes that they will be able to enter a few highly remunerative and highly respected occupations. This fact is portrayed clearly in Tables I and II. It is set forth tersely in the following statement which was prepared by a school superintendent who was asked to explain why so many of his pupils were planning to become engineers.

For the first time in the history of the town, a few blocks were paved here last summer. Many of the boys worked on the paving. The engineer in charge wore good clothes, smoked expensive cigars, and made dates with one of the high-school teachers. On a hot day I can readily see how a boy not used to such hard work would be perfectly willing to trade places with the engineer, the only man in the outfit who apparently had a soft job.⁵

The vocational counselor may state that these facts are eloquent testimony for the validity of his assertions that counseling is highly desirable. Surely, occupational interests of chil-

⁴ P. A. Witte and H. C. Lehman, "A Study of Vocational Attitudes and Intelligence," *The Elementary School Journal*, 1931, 31, pp. 735-746.

⁵ C. A. Fulmer, *Vocational Education: The Choice of a Life Work*, Bulletin No. 16, March 1928. Nebraska State Board for Vocational Education, Lincoln, Nebraska, p. 46.

dren (particularly of ages 12 to 18) are of value and interest to the counselor. Nevertheless, these choices must be considered in terms of their practical worth. One measure of practical value is the extent to which the choices correspond to society's needs.

One fact stands out clearly from the results of this study: The occupations which boys think they will enter simply are not those which they *can* enter. Many of the occupations which boys wish to avoid will be the very ones which some must enter. It would seem, therefore, that spontaneous occupational choices should not be viewed optimistically nor employed indiscriminately as bases for direct recommendation of occupational endeavor. Nevertheless, occupational information, including clear-cut and unbiased presentations of economic conditions, should be provided for *all* young people, in order that they may become conscious of the *need for intelligent economic planning* and of the difficulties which will inevitably confront them in their attempts at occupational adjustment. The data in this paper suggest that there is little awareness on the part of the children of economic demands, and probably of economic conditions in general. This holds for children in all the age groups studied. The writers have no data which show at what ages occupational data should be presented to school children. Surely, boys of ages 14 to 18 should be made aware of the present-day demands, and emphasis concerning the status of employment (and of unemployment) should be given. The data in this paper suggest that, in so far as one outcome (vocational ambition) is concerned, the older children fare no better in the school (if their responses may be considered indicative of understanding and foresight) than do the younger children.

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF COLLEGE GRADUATES AS RELATED TO EXTENT OF UNDERGRADUATE SPECIALIZATION

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By means of a questionnaire investigation an effort was made in March 1933 to determine the degree of correspondence between occupational activities and undergraduate major specializations of graduates of the University of Illinois in the class of 1923. As a part of the study a comparison was made between the graduates with many hours in their major and those with few hours in their major. This was done for 856 graduates of five colleges on the Urbana campus for that year.

The occupational activities of the graduates during the ten-year period 1923-1932 were ranked in relation to their majors by a committee of ten professors in each college. The ranks assigned by the judges had the following values: (1) in same field as major; (2) in a field closely related to the major; (3) in a field remotely related to the major; (4) in a field unrelated to the major. The mean of the ten ranks assigned by the judges was taken to be the index of correspondence of the occupation.

The number of months of occupational activity in each rank was computed for graduates having many credit hours in their major and for graduates having few credit hours in their major. With the exception of the College of Engineering, the graduates with few hours in their major included only those having from twenty to twenty-five credit hours in their specialization field. Graduates of the College of Engineering who had from twenty to forty hours in their major curricula were considered to have few hours. With the exception of the College of Commerce, the graduates with many hours in their major included only those

with fifty or more credit hours in their specialization field. Graduates of the College of Commerce who had forty or more hours were considered as having many hours. It is thus seen that "few" hours was always less than forty and "many" hours was always forty or more.

The numbers of months of activity upon which these percentages were based were of considerable size in each of the five colleges. The number of months for graduates of the College of Agriculture with many hours in the major was 1,403, for the College of Commerce it was 1,017, for the College of Education it was 1,929, for the College of Engineering it was 5,110, and for the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences it was 4,955. The number of months of occupational time for graduates with few hours in their major was 2,719 in agriculture, 4,072 in commerce, and 2,353 in education, 2,885 in engineering, and 5,196 in liberal arts and sciences.

Table I indicates for graduates of each college the percentages of occupational time in each correspondence group by graduates with many hours in their major and by graduates with few hours in their major. It is apparent that there was a consistent difference in all colleges between the degree of correspondence for occupations of these two types of students, the graduates with many hours in their major devoting a greater percentage of their time to occupations in the field of their specializations and a smaller percentage to occupations unrelated to their major than did graduates with few hours in their specialization field. This difference was particularly pronounced in the Colleges of Education and Liberal Arts and Sciences. In the College of Education 79 per cent of all time of graduates with many hours was in the same field as the major whereas only 54 per cent of the time of those with few hours was in the field of the major. In the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences 61 per cent of the time of those with many hours was in the field of their major whereas only 20

per cent of the time of those with few hours was in the field of the major. In the Colleges of Agriculture, Commerce, and Engineering, where the differences between the numbers of credit

TABLE I

Percentage of Time Devoted to Occupations in Each Correspondence Group by Graduates with Many Hours and by Those with Few Hours in their Major

COLLEGE	OCCUPATIONS IN SAME FIELD AS THE MAJOR	OCCUPATIONS CLOSELY RELATED TO THE MAJOR	OCCUPATIONS REMOTELY RELATED TO THE MAJOR	OCCUPATIONS UNRELATED TO THE MAJOR
Agriculture				
many hours . .	72	8	10	10
few hours . . .	61	9	13	7
Commerce				
many hours . .	42	41	16	1
few hours . . .	30	34	31	5
Education				
many hours . .	79	0	11	10
few hours . . .	54	2	33	11
Engineering				
many hours . .	80	10	10	0
few hours . . .	73	9	16	2
Liberal Arts and Sciences				
many hours . .	61	10	19	10
few hours . . .	20	12	54	14
Total (5 colleges)				
many hours . .	70	11	13	6
few hours . . .	42	15	33	10

hours in the majors of different graduates varied much less, the differences in percentages in each correspondence group were not so striking. However, the correspondence was greater in these colleges for graduates with a large number of credit hours than for graduates with a small number of credit hours in their major.

It is thus seen that in each of the five colleges and in all five taken together a greater percentage of occupational time was devoted to activities in the field of the major by graduates having many credit hours in their specialization field than was devoted to occupations of that rank by graduates having only a few hours in their major field. It is probable that this higher correspondence was largely due to interest in a certain type of activity and in training for that activity.

Merely increasing the number of credit hours in a given specialization might not result in increasing the correspondence between that training and the occupation to be followed later. It is probable, however, that the degree of correspondence could be raised by aiding the student to know his own interests and aptitudes and by assisting him to select his educational courses and to choose his occupations in accord with those interests and abilities.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

RESEARCH AS BASIS FOR RECREATIONAL PLANNING

The Leisure Time Conference of the Council of Lower West Side Social Agencies, New York City, has two main objectives:

1. *The Fact Finding Researches*—to make available for the use of all agencies data which will give an adequate scientific foundation for the organization of leisure-time and recreational activities.

2. *The Development of an Experimental Program*—in the direction of a more systematic planning of leisure-time and recreational programs on the part of the whole community, has been advanced during the last month and a half, in the following ways:

Four main studies are in progress at this time; namely:

1. A leisure-time study of approximately 2,000 school children of the Lower West Side to determine how they spend their time
2. Census of certain selected blocks to determine how many children in these blocks are not being reached by any leisure-time agency and to determine the needs for recreational facilities
3. An enumeration and description of leisure-time facilities on the Lower West Side in order to make possible a leisure-time information bureau and recreational advisement
4. A survey of all children now enrolled in recreational agencies, which will indicate the distribution of their

patrons, and of the areas not being reached by present organizations

These studies are under the direction of research students and only accepted research methods are employed. Civil Works Service workers are assigned for material gathering, interviewing, and carrying out of specific tasks which are carefully outlined by the directors.

While decided progress in each of these studies has been made, it is not expected that they can all be completed within this year and other studies will be necessary in realizing the program of the Leisure Time Conference.

In developing the organization for carrying out the objectives of the Leisure Time Conference, three phases of the work are under way—a motion-picture program, a play-street project, and a parent-education campaign.

The immediate work of the Lower West Side Motion Picture Council has been the recruiting of organization and individual memberships among the social agencies of the area for the purpose of working out a community approach to the study and use of the motion picture as an educational force in the lives of children. One hundred and five organizations have been contacted; 34 have signified their willingness to become coöperating members. Publications and bulletins have been issued covering the following points:

- a) Immediate objectives of Council, for distribution in making new contacts
- b) Information concerning the use of 16 mm. films and projectors; also questionnaire regarding the use of the 16 mm. motion pictures by the social agencies of the Lower West Side
- c) *Photoplay Guide*, listing recommended pictures playing during the current week in theaters of the area

A plan of coöperation is being worked out with the Hudson

Park Library and the Eighth Street Playhouse for the purpose of stimulating interest in showing pictures of literary value.

Workers are at this time engaged in special research on problems related to the motion picture and the leisure time for children. A record of all motion pictures shown in this district provides a systematic rating by which progress records are kept. This information is supplied in advance of program showings and is used for compiling the photoplay guide which is issued bimonthly.

With the slogan that "The occupation of leisure time is one answer to the crime problem," the Leisure Time Conference has further carried out one of its immediate objectives by organizing the free time of children on play streets in the Lower West Side district. In coöperation with the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Police Department, seven blocks in the district were set aside and organized into play areas.

The first play areas were opened May 22. Organized play was carried on from 3.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m. while school was in session. After the closing of the schools the hours have been from 10.00 a.m. to 9.00 p.m. six days a week. Interest has centered chiefly around a stickball tournament played by what is known as the "Police Athletic League." Systematic organization of the Police Athletic League provides a means of enrolling each boy by name and keeping records of his attendance, behavior conduct, etc., and furnishes a way of learning something about his social and family background. To the boy it means a score or rating card and information is gladly given.

Boys attaining the highest rating in attendance and attainments were taken to the American and National League games. During the summer, over 900 boys attended games at the Stadium and Polo Grounds, under supervision. Other special activities included trips to the Bronx Zoo, Botanical Gardens,

City swimming pools, and gymnasiums; and participation in interplayground features.

Besides the stickball tournament a well-rounded program of games and activities is carried on. Six hundred and fifty boys were enrolled in the stickball tournament; 700 boys participated in the stickball tournament; the daily attendance of children in other games and activities was approximately 300; and the daily attendance on play areas totalled approximately 1,000.

The need for extension of play projects became more evident as the above studies pointed up the gaps in present facilities.

The third phase of the experimental program of the Leisure Time Conference consists of a parent-education campaign. A group representing the public schools, parent associations, and community agencies has formed a provisional committee to promote parent education and organization to facilitate more adequate leisure-time activities for children in the Lower West Side. Several workers have been engaged in research on background material, preparatory to organization of parents associations in public schools not possessing such groups.

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EDITORIAL

Every social institution grows or otherwise changes in response to the social forces of its environment. These institutional changes are sometimes unplanned trends and sometimes rationally planned action. The contributors to this symposium were asked to emphasize the experience of planned education rather than to formulate ideal goals and the means to attain them. The editor believed that a symposium based on the factual evidence of educational planning in the past would act as a stimulus to more adequate planning for the future.

The larger strategy of educational planning concerns both the problem of areas of different size and of different density of population and the problem of functional relations with other social institutions in every area. We begin this symposium, therefore, with a consideration of educational planning in rural areas by Professors Edmund deS. Brunner and Frank W. Cyr; next, some examples of planning in metropolitan areas are described by Professor Frank W. Hart; then the regional planning of higher education is discussed by President L.D. Coffman; and, finally, this analysis of educational planning for different areas is concluded with a paper by Dr. George F. Zook dealing with the national unit. We pass then to a consideration of the problems of educational planning as influenced by functional factors; Professor Harold Clark discusses vocational training and educational needs; and, finally, Dr. Jesse H. Newlon analyzes the play of social forces that obstruct educational planning.

F. STUART CHAPIN

RURAL EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

FRANK W. CYR AND EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

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Rural educational planning is not a new thing. It began with the organization of public instruction on a tax-supported basis. It was rooted in the social conditions of the times. Its objective, very largely achieved, was to place a schoolhouse within walking distance of every rural child and to give the control of the school to the people of the immediate neighborhood. It was a plan geared to the type of relatively simple rural social organization of the day and expressive of the existing conception of democracy. Its results are seen today in more than one hundred fifty thousand one-room ungraded schools.

Of late years rural conditions have greatly changed. Farms are larger, children fewer, and transportation has become mechanized. Measured in time and ease of travel, a farm three miles from town was further away twenty-five years ago than a farm fifteen or twenty miles away is today. Residents of farms and villages have much broader contacts through friends, business acquaintances, and social organizations than was possible in an earlier day. With these social and economic changes educational techniques, both administrative and pedagogic, have likewise undergone revolutionary reconstruction.

Rural educational planning has, therefore, received new impetus. With enlargement of the community new boundary lines must be charted, the educational administrative set-up must be modified to meet new conditions, and the curriculum planned in terms of the changed environment.

The school-attendance area has increased beyond the boundaries of the small open-country neighborhood or village to include several such neighborhoods or even villages. Thus the attendance area served by one school corresponds closely to the

community area served by other social and business agencies of the community. At the same time, increasing interdependence of schools and communities has increased the responsibilities that they are performing in common through a larger administrative unit, usually the county.

The curriculum of the secondary schools in rural areas has also been undergoing important changes. While the narrow academic curriculum inherited from another age still predominates, important progress towards an enriched curriculum has been made through the introduction of broad health programs, departments of vocational agriculture and home economics, vitalized social studies, music, and commercial subjects. Specific illustrations of progress through planning will be discussed later.

Up to this point underlying trends in rural education rather than examples of planning have been presented. These trends may be observed throughout the United States even where careful educational planning or even conscious recognition of them was almost totally lacking. Let us now examine the results of effective planning in terms of these trends. To do this it is first necessary to consider briefly the effects of inadequate or injudicious planning in the consolidation of schools. Consolidation of attendance areas to provide stronger schools with better equipped buildings, more highly trained teachers, a broader curriculum, better classification of pupils, and a richer extracurriculum program than the smaller elementary or high school could provide has taken place in all of the forty-eight States. Often, however, such consolidations left out areas of less productive land and thus lowered the level of the educational program for children residing there, or so much was spent on buildings and equipment that sufficient current expenses for use of the plant were not available for years, or the consolidation was too small to provide sufficient assessed valuation to support the projected educational program. Important sociological factors such as

homogeneity of population, trends of population away from or into the district, and the desires of the local people involved were not adequately provided for and considered. Specific instances could be cited where buildings were poorly planned and expensive, where soil depletion reduced assessed valuations, where groups that could not cooperate in the provision of an adequate educational program were thrown together, where loss of population left classrooms and even large and expensive buildings idle, and where one district "put over" a consolidation to shoulder some of its heavy tax burden on to others. It would be unfair, however, to cite specific States or even geographical divisions of the United States since such cases are so widespread. And it is these examples which are largely responsible for the slow development of consolidation and the fact that there are now only eighteen thousand consolidated schools in the United States even though educational leaders have been enthusiastically advocating consolidation for the last century. One of the most ardent speeches ever made for consolidation was delivered before the New York State Legislature in 1844, just ninety years ago, by the Honorable Samuel Young, then State Commissioner of Education. Probably one of the greatest obstacles to an adequate program of school consolidation in the United States has been that its advocates have depended on *enthusiasm* rather than *planning*.

This situation has changed radically, however, particularly in the last eight or ten years and careful, scientific techniques for planning consolidations have developed rapidly. Some of the most notable examples are found in New York, Arkansas, and Missouri. In New York careful techniques have been developed for planning attendance areas, which are based on community areas. Through careful surveys of the social and economic factors operating in a given rural area, it is now possible to analyze and map out a community as a basis for the school district which

is as well adapted to needs of rural people as the one-teacher district was adapted to pioneer needs. New York has also shown the possible uses of a State equalization fund in a consolidation program.

In Arkansas, county-wide surveys were made as a basis for a program of consolidation which would meet the needs of all the children within the county. These surveys were made by the division of research of the State department of public instruction in coöperation with the local people of the county. Important progress was made in developing techniques for projecting definitely and clearly the proposed educational program, its effects, and its cost. Attention was given to planning in terms of probable population trends and future utilization of land for agricultural purposes.

In Missouri a program of planning for consolidation, much like that of Arkansas, has been developed. The legislature of 1931 set up administrative machinery for employment of specialists in educational surveys in the State departments and for county boards which could utilize these services if they so desired. One hundred out of one hundred and four counties in the State asked that such surveys be made. One of the most important features of the Missouri program has been the method of approach to the problem. The emphasis has been on the provision of effective services that the locality could use in planning its educational program if it desired, rather than on the use of compulsion.

The experiences of these three States in the development of effective techniques for determination of the attendance area constitute an important chapter in rural educational planning. Techniques must now be developed for effective reallocation of administrative responsibilities to the attendance unit, the larger local administrative unit or county, and the State; and for determining the size of administrative unit or county needed. The

first field has been opened for study and planning by Cyr¹ and the second by Briscoe, Berner, and Dawson.

Curriculum planning is of fundamental importance in the provision of an adequate educational program. This planning depends first upon the development of a sound clear philosophy of education. Planning cannot be effective unless it is for the purpose of accomplishing definite objectives even though these objectives may be modified from time to time as the program advances. The best examples of rural curriculum planning are based on the assumption that the child should learn to understand and think in terms of his immediate environment and its relation to the rest of the world. As Dr. Briggs has said, boys and girls should "do better the desirable things that they are likely to do anyway."²

Departments of vocational agriculture operating under the Smith-Hughes Act were pioneers in rural curriculum planning. Courses in farm crops and animal husbandry are based on careful surveys of local farming conditions to discover the importance of each crop produced and the possibilities of introducing new crops.

In Ellerbe, North Carolina, a long-time program of curriculum planning has been worked out in which community resources are used and a community program developed.³ The agriculture class discovered the possibilities of poultry raising and started a hatchery which was the beginning of a new industry there. Recreational facilities were planned and built by the students. A school paper is published and other extracurricular

¹ Frank W. Cyr, *Responsibility for Rural-School Administration*, Contributions to Education, No. 579 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933).

² T. H. Briggs, *Secondary Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), p. 258.

³ A more complete description of the programs in Ellerbe, North Carolina, may be found in *Economical Enrichment of the Small Secondary-School Curriculum* (Washington, D. C.: Department of Rural Education, National Educational Association, February 1934), p. 23.

activities have been developed, all to the end that both individuals and the community as a whole shall develop to the best of their abilities.

At Lennox, South Dakota, the curriculum of the rural high school is planned to meet the needs of the community. Farms and industries nearby are used in teaching, and the social studies are based on agricultural problems and the relation of local agriculture to State, national, and world conditions.

At Santee, Nebraska, the curriculum is based on a careful survey of the business, family, religious, governmental, and social life of the community to discover the problems that should be included in the curriculum and to obtain materials with which to teach.

State-wide curriculum planning for rural schools has been carried on effectively by committees of local teachers working with the staff of the State department and with curriculum specialists. A notable example of this is found in South Dakota where, in cooperation with the agricultural college and farm organizations, units on the cooperative marketing of farm products were prepared for high-school classes. Another notable example is found in the State elementary curriculum of New Jersey, which was worked out largely through the county rural helping teachers of the State and based on the activities of rural children.

Another type of planning which is primarily on the elementary level but which has significant implications for the secondary school is that of the county supervisors. In North Carolina, Virginia, Idaho, and New Jersey, for example, these supervisors have been analyzing the educational needs of their counties and planning careful programs. One of the best examples of such planning is found in Warren County, New Jersey, where the county superintendent and his staff of three helping teachers have prepared a long-time program of curriculum development.

During the past year the teachers of each rural school, together with the pupils, have carried on careful surveys of the resources and needs of their district. The survey was not only educational in itself but provides a sound basis for developing further the curriculum in terms of the environment of the children. Although at first glance some of the communities may have appeared colorless and ordinary, untold resources were uncovered. In addition to business, industry, nature, historical traditions, and health conditions, which provided a wealth of material infinitely more interesting and valuable for the curriculum than the usual exercises in reading, writing, and arithmetic, some special resources were found. In one particularly underprivileged community populated by truck gardeners from Poland and the Ukraine, a study of the customs, habits, and lives of the people and their native country has resulted in a vital curriculum which integrates the Old World culture with the new environment.

One of the most significant examples of curriculum planning for the secondary school is found in Nebraska. There a staff has been employed in the university extension division which, in coöperation with the department of school administration in the teachers college and the State department of public instruction, prepares and administers curriculum materials in the rural high schools throughout the State. This staff of highly trained specialists prepares individual instruction materials to be administered locally and correspondence courses for which guidance and testing is provided by the central staff at the university. The close relationship between the central staff and the local school in curriculum planning offers an avenue through which the latest curriculum practices may be readily introduced into the schools. During the summer session of 1934, thirty-five superintendents and principals worked at the university on the revision of their curricula under the direction of the extension division

and teachers-college staffs. This type of planning has important implications for State-wide programs of curriculum planning.

This brief survey offers several clues as to the use of planning in the integration of the heterogeneous, folk-made educational program that has developed in rural areas. Careful planning will in itself remove many obstacles now in the way of an adequate program. Planning must utilize and be developed out of the scattered programs now under way of which those contained in this article are examples.

The types of planning most needed are (1) those which will provide an effective basis for modification and reorganization of the educational administrative set-up in terms of modern social needs and (2) those which will develop a broad, rich curriculum growing out of the needs of pupils and community.

METROPOLITAN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

FRANK W. HART
University of California

The invitation to contribute to this symposium carried a very positive implication that the thing desired was not the speculations of a college professor on the advantages of "planning," the birth of a new idea, or the denunciation of our failure to "plan," but rather to present specific illustrations of effective planning now in operation in representative metropolitan school systems. Accordingly, the content of this section of the symposium is a reproduction of the reports of city superintendents in selected school systems of what they regarded as "the most distinctive planning activity in which they were engaged."

These reports were received in response to a request in which the use to be made of them was stated. Much time and thought was evidently given to the preparation of these accounts of planning activity and it is a matter of extreme regret that all of them cannot be reproduced in full. They stand as proof irrefutable of the fact that (1) conscious educational planning is now going on and (2) that such planning is, in so far as possible, founded upon scientific study and, in many cases, upon experimental evidence. The strong arm of the research department in each case is clearly apparent.

The several reports are briefed below with a minimum of comment and interpretation by the compiler.

HOUSTON, TEXAS, INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT

Our most intensive planning has been with the elementary-school curriculum, which can be described in part according to the four points as follows:

1. *The Theory Underlying It.* We were and still are of the opinion that teaching by subjects with artificial delineations, with the school day divided into many short periods in some-

what of a vaudeville show style, is not conducive to the best learning and is extremely wasteful of time. We are proceeding with the idea that pupils can learn better when all their subject-matter content is developed around some meaning of theme or center of interest. But what is more important, we believe that the better habits of study and better habits and attitudes such as self-direction, self-control, initiative, courtesy, and consideration for others cannot be well developed in a very formal program. Our assumption here is based on the theory that in the formal program pupils do not learn to respond to internal motives, but are compelled to respond by externally imposed regulations. When these regulations are withdrawn the response is usually lacking.

2. *The Objectives We Are Seeking to Accomplish*
 - a) To develop in the students ability in the fundamental skills by a type of integrated activity curriculum to a greater degree of proficiency than with the formal curriculum
 - b) To develop the fundamental skills in approximately one half the time now devoted to them in the formal curriculum
 - c) To provide more time for creative self-expression activities
 - d) To provide more time for problem-solving type of activities
 - e) To make possible the better development of habits and attitudes of students through the opportunities of living a more normal life in the classroom
3. *Techniques, Methods, or Procedures Involved*
4. *The Results in so far as They Have Been Realized*

Items 3 and 4 are covered in a lengthy detailed report setting forth a rather elaborate controlled experiment covering a period of a year and a half and involving approximately three thousand students. A full report of the experiment is to be published by Superintendent Oberholtzer. Further evidence of planning in the Houston school system is also reported briefly as follows:

We are engaged now at the other end of the educational ladder, and also in adult work which requires considerable planning. We are expanding our junior college into a university, with the hope and aim of providing a service institution with most of our emphasis on providing training, both of a vocational and cultural nature for

employed adults. We have made a survey of the need for training of such an educational program in our city, but I am sorry that no copies of the results are available at present.—W. W. KEMMERER,
Director of Child Accounting and Curriculum

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

Educational planning in the schools of Minneapolis is evidenced by a series of more or less related activities which the superintendent reports as follows:

To select our most "distinctive planning activity," I shall have to gather together several activities which have not always been presented as parts of a major plan but which have, nevertheless, been directed or set in motion to contribute to it. The most important planning activity in this community, as in others, would have to be described as a *serious attempt to reach each child with an education adapted to his needs*. The plan actually to bring this about in practice involves (a) a change in attitude of teachers towards subject-matter standards in relation to children and (b) changes in organization of curriculum and teaching methods. The following steps have been consciously undertaken to secure the desired modifications of aims and practices.

Background. A continuous school census has brought within the reach of school services every child within the compulsory age limits. Social and clinical services have pointed out that regimentation of children to serve subject-matter ends not only fails to provide many children with effective training but actually contributes maladjustments to many personalities. In order to provide effective training for all types of children, the regular procedures of the school must be modified rather than provision made for the segregation of types. For example, it has long been an accepted principle in the Minneapolis schools that the segregation of the behavior cases is ineffective, unwise, and unjust. No children have been segregated for behavior for over a dozen years. In spite of this fact, behavior is in better control than ever before. The number of court cases of school origin has shrunk to almost none.

Steps to Secure the Desired Change in Attitude. Supervisors and directors of the Minneapolis schools devoted their professional meetings for a year to the discussion of educational philosophy, finally

evolving a tentative statement of their belief, which emphasized the adaptation of instruction and organization to the needs of the individual child. This year, under the leadership of the superintendent of schools, principals have been devoting their professional meetings to working out an educational philosophy acceptable to the majority of Minneapolis school people. As their study has progressed, they have been taking up the discussion with teachers in their buildings, getting opinions from them, and returning to them with ideas expressed in committee meetings. Thus, slowly, is evolving a common belief in certain educational objectives and a changing attitude on the part of many principals and teachers, which makes possible a reorganization of curriculum and departments to provide more adequately for individual child growth.

Another phase of this plan has been an attempt to integrate special services and departments more closely into the educational organization.

The desirability of complete segregation of borderline subnormal children is being questioned. A study has been carried on to compare the progress of children in this type of class with the progress of similar children in regular classes. This is resulting in a gradual merging of activities of special classes with those of the regular school, so that, in so far as the State law regarding State aid allows, both the facilities of the regular classroom and the assistance of special-class teachers will be available for individual children of the slow learning type. Thus, a more flexible organization and closer relationships between special classes and elementary-school classes are developing.

The child-study department, which was a more or less separate organization set up under the name of Child Guidance Clinic to assist in studying cases of disturbed or atypical children, is being integrated with the whole school organization so that the personality development of the child is being considered in all school situations and with all children.

Guidance is being stressed as a function of the whole school. Special attention is being given to the integration of this service. A committee composed of a representative from the various school departments is now at work at the problem of pupil record keeping to make it of more assistance to successive teachers in fitting the

educational program to needs of individual children, these needs being considered from the point of view of complete personality of the child, not just from the point of view of intellectual development.

In an effort to break down some of the barriers that exist between segments of the school system, representatives from the senior high school and junior high schools contributing to that school are meeting by districts to discuss articulation problems and to eliminate some of the difficulties that interfere with the uninterrupted progress of the pupil through the school system.

Experimental Research Looking towards the Reorganization of Curriculum and Method. 1. A study of one hundred thirty-five first-grade failures or near failures. The outcome of this study tends to show that not only were these children dull and unready for reading experience, but also the socio-economic status of the homes from which they came was significantly different from that of children in the control group. Furthermore, reading tests of various types showed many have poor reading habits, especially the habit of using the slightest cue for guessing. As a result of this study, it was concluded that greater attention should be given to children's readiness for reading and that they should not be thrust into reading at a time when they would develop poor habits. Nine schools were set apart in which experiments have been going forward in developing a more flexible curriculum, in using more flexible standards of promotion, and in setting up an individual pupil accounting system which will place greater emphasis on phases of child development other than the academic.

2. A study of more than two thousand over-age pupils in grades 4B to 9B, inclusive, to answer as completely as possible certain questions relative to the achievement, behavior, and health of pupils who are six months or more over-age in an elementary school or one year or more over-age in a junior high school. A case study was made of each of more than two thousand pupils. The results have been of value in indicating adjustments for individual pupils and points at which the school failed so decisively that only drastic changes in the plans can be of help. Following the completion of the study, meetings were held in each of the city's thirteen junior-high-school districts. Each meeting was attended by the elementary-, junior-high-school, and, frequently, the senior-high-school principals. Individual

cases were reviewed by the director of the child study department. The conference period was given to a group discussion of questions relative to the adjustment of the curriculum for the slow learning pupils, standards of promotion established in regard to slow learning pupils, etc.

3. A five-year experiment with a differentiated curriculum (1929-1934). The differentiated curriculum was initiated as a means of reducing retardation and lessening delinquency of the over-age, slow learning, dull-normal boys and girls who have accumulated in the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades of Schiller School. Statistical evidence revealed the necessity of providing an organization which would permit differentiating the curriculum and adapting teaching procedures to meet the needs of these socially maladjusted pupils who leave school at sixteen years of age, unprepared to adjust in the community. Children seriously over-age who were educational or behavior problems were taken from the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades and placed in a seventh-grade room. A testing program helped to establish a grade level in each subject for each pupil in the group. A daily record of the pupil's interests, attitudes, habits, and progress guided the teacher in selecting materials of instruction and in adapting the method of procedure to meet the individual differences of the group. As results of this procedure, we believe confidence has been restored, failures have been lessened, attitudes have improved, and education has been extended for many who would have failed and dropped out of school.

4. A study of the reading abilities, social attitudes, and leisure-time activities of over two thousand adults enrolled in evening classes. In order to be of greater service to the ten thousand adults who enroll in the afternoon and evening classes by providing educational opportunities which are in better accord with their needs and interests, an investigation was carried on to determine the reading abilities, the social attitudes, and the leisure-time activities of over two thousand employed and unemployed students. It is true that many of these adults are woefully lacking in ability to comprehend from the printed page and are notoriously slow readers. As a result of the investigation, remedial reading groups, called How to Study classes, have been organized to help the student who is far removed from his previous schoolwork and who is inefficient in reading to adjust himself again to study.

Preliminary results for the study of social attitudes indicate that the majority of adults who enroll in evening classes have maintained their morale, have not become economic radicals, have sane attitudes towards government, still respect law and order, continue to believe in the value of education and in the fundamental importance of the family and the home. However, there are many others, in larger numbers among the unemployed than the employed, who have developed antisocial attitudes during this period of economic and social stress. Since this is true, steps have been taken to build up an adult guidance service, which is designed to give sound vocational and educational advice to those who desire or who need such help.

Leisure-time activities of an organized nature are not carried on by the great majority of adult students. This phase of the study challenges adult education to contribute to better physical and mental health through providing effective instruction in the worthy use of leisure.—C. R. REED, *Superintendent of Schools*

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Providence report differs from the others in that it involves the remaking of an entire school system in the light of a comprehensive survey. The assistant superintendent reports as follows:

The problem offers probably the most conspicuous example of the results of educational planning in the country. In 1925, Dr. Strayer's Survey was adopted one hundred per cent by the Rhode Island Legislature. Since then our entire educational system has been rebuilt. Eleven million dollars have been spent on construction and about five million more are due within the next five years. Instead of a school committee of thirty-three, we have a school committee of seven. Instead of being entirely at the mercy of the city council on financial matters, the school department has thirty-five per cent of the city's revenue to spend on current educational expenses. Instead of being entirely dependent upon the city council for school buildings, the city government is required to act upon the request of the school committee within six months or submit it to the voters. We have remade an 8-4 plan of organization into a 6-3-3. A strong problem personnel or guidance department has been built.

We have many plans under way for adult education in our

regional junior high schools, but these have not been announced and should not be made public until passed upon by the school committee. Many school-system surveys have been only partially adopted and have frequently not been carried out. In Providence the survey was adopted as a homeroom program, and has actually been carried out to such an extent that it has far exceeded the original plans. Preparation of the history of the reorganization of the school system is contemplated for the three-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Providence in 1936.—RICHARD D. ALLEN, *Assistant Superintendent of Schools*

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Superintendent of Seattle reports as follows:

It is our expectation, because of the fact that virtually all of our young people now go through high school, to organize all of our courses on a thirteen-year basis instead of on the 6-3-3 or 8-4 plan. These committees are coördinated by the superintendent's conference.

It is evident on every hand that curriculum reorganization is commanding widespread attention and taking first place in planning activities. Superintendent McClure submits with his report detailed outlines of plans under way in Seattle covering health education, reading and literature, mathematics, English, and social science. The plans are similar in form; therefore, only the plan of work for the committee on articulation of social-science courses will be reproduced here.

- I. *The Committee's Problem.* To produce from existing courses a single course of study in each of the following subjects from kindergarten through the high school: (1) geography; (2) history and civics
- II. *Time to be Covered by the Study—One Year.* New courses of study should be ready for distribution in September. Much of the work of formulation of courses has been excellently done by various committees. It is desired that this committee shall perform the functions of survey and articulation. A chart of the content of social-science courses for all levels of the system has already been prepared for the committee by the superintendent's staff.

III. *Procedure.*

- A. Survey present courses
- B. Eliminate duplications except where essential for emphasis
- C. Regrade activities and formal content where desirable
- D. Secure appropriate development from grade to grade
- E. Recommend desirable grade placement of content
- F. Suggest suitable standards for such things as (1) use of classroom library; (2) use of visual aids; (3) minimum requirements as to acceptable written and spoken English for each of the various levels of the system
- G. Provide differentiated courses and textbook materials for pupils of limited ability in grades 9-12 if found desirable
- H. Provide each grade with set of standard pupil attainments in terms of desirable outcomes whereby each teacher can evaluate achievement of pupils at the beginning and close of each semester
- I. Show clearly the relationship of regular textbook materials to each semester of study
- J. Survey reference materials for the various grades and reallocate where advisable

IV. *Desired Results of the Committee's Work.* A unified Seattle course of study representing elementary, junior, and senior high school in geography, history, and civics. It is not desired, however, that community life studies in the primary years shall be broken up into these three subjects.V. *Committee Personnel.*

- A. To represent (1) elementary schools; (2) junior high schools; (3) senior high schools
- B. To be limited in number in order to facilitate meetings and action
- C. To comprise people who have demonstrated ability to carry through and bring to a conclusion

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA, PUBLIC SCHOOLS

We think that the best thing we have done here is the plan for the modification of our practice and method at all levels of our school system which we began five years ago and which we are just getting under way in good shape at the present time. The following outline gives some notion of the procedure.

Plan: Modification of practice and program of public schools to meet changed conditions—social, economic, vocational, cultural, and so forth

1. *Theory.* The school must adapt itself to a changing society if it is to continue to be a serviceable instrumentality of society
2. *Objectives:*
 - a) A restatement of the philosophy of education upon which intelligent practice rests
 - b) The inculcation of this philosophy in the minds of the personnel with enough concrete, illustrative material to enable them to make application and initiate new practice in their various classes
 - c) The intelligent direction of public opinion towards the acceptance and support of the new theory and the new practice
 - d) The evolutionary adjustment of practice and program to the new concept by a procedure of growth and adaptation conserving the worth while in former practice and initiating necessary modifications gradually and constructively
 - e) The continuous growth of the staff in an understanding as well as in the use of the new procedures
 - f) The enlistment of student coöperation in the new procedure together with that morale essential to growth and participation in the changed practice
3. *Techniques, Methods, or Procedures*
 - a) Exposure of staff to leadership with a view to revealing new problems, new solutions, existing weaknesses, breakdowns, failures, and so forth. A long process, exhibiting definite steps or stages—i.e., exposure, interest, discussion, experimentation, adoption (tentative), adaptation, and so forth
 - b) Introduction of skilled leadership within staff to foster initiated experiments and to encourage extension of practice
 - c) Public-relations agencies to acquaint community with progress
 - d) Research to devise new methods and to evaluate procedures new and old

- e) Coöperative organizations within staff, forums, committees, and so forth, to promote intelligent consideration of problem
- 4. *Results*
 - a) Satisfactory adjustment of economic problem of school support through public-relations agencies
 - b) Rather complete acceptance by staff of new philosophy of education
 - c) Greatly modified practice in the elementary schools—much modification of the practice in the junior-high-school area and a fair amount of change in high-school and junior-college practice
 - d) The acceptance of the concept that the school is serving a changing, rather than a static, society by teachers, pupils, and the public has become a basis for intelligent long-time planning of both program and method.—J. A. SEXSON, *Superintendent of Schools*

DENVER, COLORADO, PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The superintendent of schools of Denver reports as follows:

All education, as I see it, is planning, but in the professional study program of our Principals and Directors Association at the present time we have perhaps incorporated the idea with a little more than the usual prominence. The association has been divided into committees, whose subjects are as follows: Research and Science Education; Administration, Business Management, and Supervision; Public Relations; The Social Scene and Its Implications for Schools; Nature of the Individual; Philosophy of Education.

I believe these titles explain fairly well what these committees are to do. In brief, we expect the committee on The Social Scene and Its Implications for Schools to give us something of an analysis of the social scene as it contains implications for education.

We expect the committee on Administration, Business Management, and Supervision to give us a statement concerning what is good school administration in the light of the present situation as they may secure information about it through the five other committees or as they may secure information directly.

We expect the committee on Research and Science in Education

to give us some statement concerning the place of research in education, past, present, and future.

We expect the committee on the Nature of the Individual to give us the up-to-the-minute contribution of study in this field.

We expect the committee on Public Relations to tell us how to maintain a relationship of understanding and sympathetic coöperation with the public on all the matters involved in the educational program.

We expect the committee on the Philosophy of Education to bring the contributions of the other five committees together with their own study in at least a minimum statement of philosophic principles, to which it is hoped we may secure a reasonable measure of agreement.

Each committee will, of course, be expected, by a process of reporting and discussion, to arrive at a statement acceptable to the Principles and Directors Association as a whole.

This program is just getting under way. We hope in time to involve the entire corps in it.

DES MOINES, IOWA, PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Perhaps the most striking departure from normal educational practice is the adult-education plan now under way in Des Moines. This plan has received wide publicity and circular material is available setting forth full details of its inception and operation. The paragraphs quoted below from one of these circulars will serve to indicate in the briefest possible way the purpose and method.

We live in an exciting world marked by rapid changes. Political, social, and economic questions press upon us from all sides for answer. These complex new questions demand a constant reëxamination and a continuous testing out of principles and knowledge if the intelligent decisions which citizenship in a democracy requires are to be made.

Because of its belief in the capacity and desire of Des Moines citizens to keep pace with this changing world, the Carnegie Corporation of New York has agreed to finance, for a five-year period, an experiment in adult education in this city. No reservations are

made by the Corporation except that the money is to be used for the conduct of public forums to discuss public questions. The control of the experiment, therefore, rests solely with the Board of Education of Des Moines and is to be administered through the superintendent of schools, who is held responsible for the execution of the policies approved by the Board.

The Corporation appropriated the money through the American Association for Adult Education under whose immediate sponsorship the experiment will be conducted.

The plan is to provide adult forums in all sections of the city for the discussion of current social, political, and economic problems under the leadership of men specially qualified. These forums will not be formal classes. There will be no textbooks, no fees, no enrollment, no assignments, no tests. Any problem of current and general interest to the citizens of Des Moines will be considered appropriate for discussion at any forum. All forums will be open meetings which any citizen may attend at any time.

Obviously, the value of these forums will depend in large part upon the character of the leadership provided. The Board of Education will employ for this purpose men of recognized scholarship with a record of active participation in public affairs, men who have the combination of theoretical and practical acquaintance with current problems that will enable them to speak with authority and will also ensure appreciation of the difficulties involved in solving social problems. They will, therefore, be men who may be expected to bring to each forum meeting a stimulating presentation of issues and the ability to help citizens to clarify their own thinking by discussion.

From the foregoing statements drawn from metropolitan school systems in various parts of the country it is evident that courageous, forward-looking planning of public education is going on in a most commendable manner in many places. Only by and through such planning based as it is on scientific study of its problems can public education hope to serve society in ways commensurate with public confidence and public need.

REGIONAL PLANNING OF HIGHER EDUCATION

L. D. COFFMAN

University of Minnesota

With the passing of pioneer days and the improvement of means of travel and communication, colleges and universities of this country face a number of entirely new situations. Established in the beginning to provide college work for a limited number of students in a somewhat narrow geographical area, oftentimes with the sanction of some church denomination, more than a thousand private colleges were created in America. At the same time the great bodies of citizens representing communities of the State, believing that higher education was essential for public welfare and the maintenance and advancement of the interests of the State, established several hundred teachers colleges, land-grant colleges, technological schools, and universities. The competition between these institutions for support and for students became more and more intense. They expanded their activities, they enlarged their plants, increased their personnel, became rivals for private and public support. The origin and growth of the collegiate institutions of this country differed in no fundamental respect from the origin and growth of business enterprises generally. The ambitions of alumni and of the commercial interests of the community in which the institutions were located increased the rivalry among collegiate institutions. The success of college administration was measured by its growth and the increase in its budget. Colleges advertised extensively for students. They created scholarships to induce students to attend them and they sent agents into the field to advertise their wares.

Colleges no longer confine their appeals to the local areas they were originally established to cover. Students can travel from one end of the State to the other between sunrise and sunset. The colleges that have survived must now make their appeal

to students over a wider area than they did a few years ago. Financial angels who were willing to lavish large gifts upon educational institutions to provide memorials for themselves and for their families seem to be disappearing; certainly they are less numerous than formerly. Higher standards are being required of colleges everywhere. They are subject to an increasing amount of public discussion, scrutiny, and examination partly because an enormous amount of duplication of effort, of offerings, and of expanse exists among them. College administrators are giving far more attention to the intellectual organization of their institutions than to their exploitation with a view to obtaining students. College leaders, instead of being promoters, are now finding it necessary to become students of education.

The impact of all these forces, due to changing conditions, upon the collegiate institutions of this country is resulting in a number of fundamental changes. These changes are expressing themselves in at least three important ways; namely, the actual consolidation of institutions, interinstitutional coöperation, and the establishment of federations in higher education. Since 1928 at least two dozen colleges have merged. Examples of this are found in the following list:¹

<i>Formerly</i>	<i>Present Name</i>
Albright College Schuylkill College	Albright College, Reading, Pa.
Atlanta University Morehouse College Spelman College	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Austin College Texas Presbyterian College	Austin College, Sherman, Texas
Centre College Kentucky College for Women	Centre College of Kentucky Danville, Ky.
Chicora College for Women Queens College	Queens-Chicora College, Charlotte, N. C.

¹ Many of the facts on this and the following pages were derived from an article by John A. Pollard in *School and Society*, September 19, 1931.

<i>Formerly</i>	<i>Present Name</i>
Columbia University New York Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital	Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Hannibal College LeGrange College	Hannibal-LaGrange College, Hannibal, Mo.
Knox College Lombard College	Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
Lane Theological Seminary Presbyterian Theological Seminary	In process of amalgamation
Miami University Oxford College for Women	Miami University, Oxford, Ohio
New Orleans University Straight University	Dillard University, New Orleans, La.
Pittsburgh Theological Seminary Zenith United Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Pittsburgh-Zenia Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rochester College of Optometry University of Rochester	University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

One needs only to review the situation in almost any State to find abundant evidence of the need of further mergers. A recent report shows that in Ohio, for example, within an area of 41,040 square miles and a (1930) population of 6,689,837, there were fifty-two institutions of collegiate grade, six of which received public support and the remaining forty-six were, in the main, privately controlled. Only seven of these forty-six had endowments amounting to \$500,000. Only seven of the forty-six had more than \$100,000 each from productive funds. Sixteen had less than \$100,000 from all sources, and of these sixteen, seven

had less than \$50,000 each. Eighteen of the forty-six had less than \$25,000 each in productive funds.

One institution that had enrolled 1,800 students had only 13,000 volumes in its library. Forty-nine institutions had less than 10,000 volumes in their libraries. Out of a total of thirty-six Ohio private colleges listing their 1927-1928 productive endowments, twelve had less than one thousand dollars per student each, and only seven had more than five thousand dollars per student each. One institution had only eight dollars in endowment for each student enrolled.

The unfortunate feature about this situation is that a great many colleges do not yet recognize the impossibility of continuing on their present basis. They are still engaged in a struggle to secure students. They are offering and must continue to offer a poor quality of collegiate education. By specious advertising and the blandishments of field agents they are undertaking to maintain their registration. They have apparently great powers of endurance and a lingering vitality. If they could continue to exist without wrecking the hopes and dreams of unsuspecting students, the case would not be so bad. But that is impossible. Students come to them with high hopes, only to learn later that they have been defrauded by false claims and that the quality of the work which they have received is superficial.

The growth and spread of higher education in this country is revealed in striking form by figures collected by Sir Michael Sadler, of Oxford, who not long ago pointed out that in Great Britain one out of every 1,000 in the population attended a university; in France, one out of 700; in Germany, one out of 650; and in the United States, one out of every 120. The policy in America has been to insist that every student who desires to do so may attend college. This has been in keeping with the democratic philosophy that has been prevailing in American education since Colonial times. It may be that, instead of insisting that

all students should attend college or have an equal right to attend college, the educational system should be reorganized to correspond more nearly with the actual capacities and needs of the students, for it is obvious that a large percentage of the students attending college find it impossible to do satisfactory college work. Dean Gauss, of Princeton, states that only thirty-seven and one-half per cent attending college leave with diplomas.

Changes that are forcing institutions to merge are leading also to various forms of interinstitutional coöperation. Certain universities, for example, have agreed tentatively that they will not undertake to duplicate work in certain fields. Chicago and Texas have entered into joint agreement to maintain a single astronomical observatory. A number of Canadian institutions have evolved a tentative scheme for the allocation of functions. An interchange of professors between certain institutions and certain departments is becoming more common. Work given at one institution is accepted by another institution not offering it.

This coöperation is due partly to a desire to eliminate waste in higher education, partly to a desire to improve the quality of higher education itself, and partly because specialization in the various fields of learning is making coöperation necessary.

Perhaps one of the most conspicuous illustrations of waste, and certainly of duplication in higher education, occurs in the land-grant colleges. The Federal Government has provided a land-grant college for each State and territory. It has set aside a certain sum of money for the operation and maintenance of certain work of these land-grant institutions. There is a duplication of plant, of offerings, of staff, and of equipment among the institutions. A half dozen or more of these institutions are located in the same geographical area serving, in general, the same constituencies and undertaking to solve the same problems. One of the most notorious illustrations of this is to be found in the land-grant colleges located at Moscow, Idaho, and Pullman,

Washington; they are within eight miles of each other. At each institution work is being carried on in agronomy, animal husbandry, poultry, forestry, and in the other fields that relate to the advancement and improvement of agriculture.

It is my candid opinion that the nation would be far ahead in productive scientific work in the field of agriculture, in all other fields of learning for that matter, if there were a regionalizing of institutions. One great university located somewhere here in the Northwest, staffed with the best minds that can be found, adequately equipped to study the problems of this region, would be more productive scientifically than a half-dozen institutions that are poorly equipped and inadequately staffed.

The best illustration that I have of this is in Australia. A man by the name of Waite left a sum of money for the establishment of an experiment station in agriculture at Adelaide. This station is now receiving support from the State of South Australia, from the other States of the federation, and from the federal government. It is carrying on scientific work in every part of Australia. Plots of ground in different soil areas have been made available to it. It studies the plant life and animal life of the various sections of Australia as they are related to these various soil and geographical areas. The station itself, located near Adelaide, is staffed by some of the most brilliant scientific minds that the world has produced. Instead of dissipating the energies of the staff and instead of establishing a number of more or less pale imitations of the institute in other sections of the country, there have been concentrated in one place the materials and equipment and the minds necessary for the highest kind of productive work. Perhaps we cannot do this in America but we could look forward to the time when there might be some regionalizing of institutions and when the Federal Government would make its grants not on the political basis it has used in the past but with a view

actually towards advancing science and the regions in which these institutions are located.

What is suggested with regard to land-grant institutions can be carried out to some extent by agreement among the universities themselves if their constituencies will subscribe to the agreement. Each institution might be encouraged to develop along those lines that are most favorable to it as a result of its location. The neighboring institutions might agree to accept each other's work. There is no real reason, for example, why there should be several departments of dairy husbandry in the Northwest, several schools of forestry, several schools of mines, and why there should be more than one school of medicine or dentistry. Instead of States spending large sums of money to maintain institutions on a meager basis, why should not the representatives of the States, after a careful study of their needs, agree to maintain a number of scholarships available at other institutions of learning where work of the kind that they need is carried on?

Another one of the forces that is leading to interinstitutional coöperation is the extent to which the various subjects of human learning have become specialized. Some specialization is necessary, otherwise human progress would soon be resolved to the dead level of mediocrity. Important as specialization is, we should not overlook the fact that in the final analysis all human knowledge is related. Even the humanities and the natural sciences have points of contact. The various sciences are so interlaced and interdependent that one cannot exist without the other.

Research is to a certain extent an individual matter, but not wholly so. Due to the extreme specialization that now pervades every phase of our life, every scientist must seek the coöperation and assistance of other scientists in the elaboration of his hypotheses, in the conduct of his investigations, and in the verification of interpretation of his results. Research is also to a certain extent institutional. Over a period of years, given institu-

tions take on a certain atmosphere; they devote themselves to certain lines of intellectual effort and become distinguished by their achievements along these lines. Now the time has arrived when we should think of research as being interinstitutional. Ways and means should be found of bringing the institutions themselves into closer relationships. There should be an interchange of research projects. A research program covering the interests and activities of a number of institutions should be devised and an organization set up for its continuance. That means the intelligence of the various institutions should be brought to bear upon the problems of a given institution. An individual carries on his investigations for the purpose of finding out the truth; an institution, likewise, is interested in the truth, but also in the utility or service value of its investigations, while any interinstitutional arrangement would focus its attention still more upon the social utility of the studies being made.

Finally, there is another type of interinstitutional coöperation which has been described in a particularly happy manner as "A Southern Confederation of Learning," by Benjamin B. Kendrick, in the January 1934 issue of *Southwest Review*. Mr. Kendrick proposes a confederation to promote advancement and the humanizing of learning in the South. He is not interested so much in preserving and revivifying the Old South as in promoting a new regionalism that will give special emphasis to thought and culture, to art and to literature, to a beautiful and satisfying life. He calls attention to the fact that the educational system which has been in operation hitherto has failed to eradicate passion and prejudice. It has failed to create a sufficient number of like-minded people interested in public welfare to ensure the maintenance of institutions designed for the public good. These ends can be accomplished not by a laissez-faire form of education, but by having education properly conceived and administered as a condition precedent to such ends.

NATIONAL PLANNING IN EDUCATION

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A number of European countries after a rather short trial of democracy as a form of government have replaced it with some form of centralized action. To them democratic government is slow moving, full of vicious opportunities, and ineffective.

In America we believe that whatever vein of truth there is in this conclusion is due to inadequate education in the home, the church, and the school. If democracy fails in America, as in other parts of the world, it will be due chiefly to inadequate attention to the basic significance of education in developing citizens competent to engage in self-government.

In education, therefore, as in all other forms of our social life, every inadequacy seems to call loudly for the most courageous and painstaking consideration—an impulse which is all the stronger now that, with examples of failure near at hand, we realize that the very form of government under which we live may otherwise be endangered. It is entirely natural, therefore, that even though according to our traditions plans for education should be made primarily by the States, localities, and voluntary agencies, there should be more demand than ever before for national planning in education.

Perhaps one should hasten to add that planning in education, as in other fields of social effort, and the administration of laws or regulations adopted as a result of such planning are two entirely different matters. Any consideration of educational needs throughout the country may result, as it has occasionally in the past, in Federal statutes, but it may also, and doubtless will in most instances, continue to be assumed that States, localities, and private schools may use their discretion in undertaking even the best considered national plans in education.

The fact that education is primarily a State responsibility which may in turn be delegated to localities or private organizations makes it all the more necessary that national planning in education be carried on in such a way as to be convincing. There can be no question but that the educators themselves are primarily responsible for setting up a feasible school program to meet individual and social needs, but it is quite impossible and undesirable to attempt to do this without the most extended contact with people and conditions. To do otherwise but repeats past experience, too frequently indulged in, of making a school program in a vacuum.

Notwithstanding our deficiencies in the development of educational policy, whether national, State, or local, we fail even more miserably in getting our ideas across to the lay public, who, after all, determine the extent to which they can be realized. We need to learn the language of the layman. We need to articulate our educational policies better to the rank and file of our citizens through the public press and platform. We need to show what is the relation of education to all other forms of social effort, governmental or voluntary. And especially we need to develop a technique of demonstrating school results under favorable and unfavorable conditions, respectively, which will be as plain to all citizens as the demonstrations in agriculture set up by the colleges of agriculture for the benefit of the farmers. Unless we find more effective ways of reaching the lay public, the best considered national planning in education will be relatively unsuccessful, with possible results of the most serious consequences in our national life.

There are two methods which may be used in the formulation of national policies in education; namely, through the efforts of Federal agencies, and through the efforts of voluntary organizations and committees. These will be discussed in turn.

The Federal Government is not in a very favorable position to engage in educational planning. There is in the first place no ministry of education nor any other strong central educational agency with adequate facilities for this purpose. Moreover, there is a strong undercurrent of feeling shared by many laymen and educators alike that educational planning as well as execution is primarily the responsibility of States, localities, and voluntary associations. Hence, although Congress has long been willing to set aside millions of dollars for experiment stations in agriculture, it has never considered the possibility of similar subsidies for experimentation in education as a basis for the development of more effective programs and policies in the education of the nation's children.

Therefore, although the situation was somewhat simplified in October 1933 by adding the responsibilities of the Federal Board for Vocational Education to the Office of Education, it yet remains true that educational functions are scattered in a haphazard manner among the various independent establishments and departments of government. Such a condition grew up without thought of a concerted plan and it now serves as a serious impediment to a comprehensive consideration of educational matters. The National Advisory Committee on Education in its report several years ago recommended the creation of an Interdepartmental Council for Education, but nothing has ever been done to secure its adoption.

In the meantime, there are a number of sporadic instances where the various Federal agencies dealing with education have coöperated vigorously in common enterprises. One of the best illustrations was the White House Conference in 1930 in which such agencies as the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Public Health, the Office of Education, and the Bureau of Home Economics joined in the formulation of a report of far-reaching implications. More recently the Office of Education has assisted

a number of new agencies, such as the Public Works Administration, Subsistence Homesteads, Civilian Conservation Corps Camps, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the NRA in dealing with those aspects of their work which have educational implications. There is a great need, however, for more joint consideration of mutual educational interests between and among various divisions in the Federal Government than has ever been undertaken.

It has been said that wherever authority relative to a segment of education carried on by a Federal agency is most complete there is generally a smaller number of studies, conferences, and surveys of the educational program and organization than is true in those agencies where authority is less complete. I suspect that this statement is true and that one may find examples of it in the War and Navy Departments' administration of education in our dependencies and in the dealings of the department of the Interior relative to the education of Indians. Indeed, anything approaching adequate consideration of the problem of suitable education for the Indians has been until recently sadly neglected.

In the case of each of the acts relating to particular phases of education now on the Federal statute books, as for example the Morrill Acts, the Smith-Hughes Act, and the Smith-Lever Act, extensive consideration was given to the respective subjects, usually by Congressional committees, prior to their adoption. In other words, the absence of a strong comprehensive Federal organization in education in Washington has resulted in a series of special acts, relating to various phases of education, that were earnestly considered but not well coördinated. Others of possibly equal merit have for the same reason received little or no attention.

The Office of Education, except for its duties in connection with the land-grant colleges and vocational education, has little

if any administrative duties in education. It serves, therefore, as a clearing house of information and promotion. For many years the Office has taken the lead in organizing a number of conferences on pertinent educational problems which have undoubtedly helped to lay the basis for appropriate action in the States and localities. It has also consistently promoted the consideration of such ideas as the junior college and the county unit through its publications and the activities of the members of its staff. Such activities are important contributions in the formulation of educational policy.

During the years immediately preceding the depression, the Office of Education, through special appropriations from Congress, engaged in a number of national surveys of particular fields of education, including the land-grant colleges, secondary education, and teacher training. A fourth study on financing education was stopped, because of the financial stringency, before it could be completed. These surveys are remarkable compendiums of information showing the developments in their respective fields. Usually they fall short, however, in drawing conclusions and formulating a well-considered philosophy on the basis of which existing programs and organization in education may be modified to suit new conditions. Hence, such modifications have followed slowly if at all. Here a leaf might profitably be taken out of the procedures and reports of the Consultative Committee of the British Board of Education.

There is also an opportunity for coöperation between the Federal Government and voluntary agencies in educational planning of which the Government has not availed itself except in a few instances. The White House Conferences and the report of the National Advisory Committee on Education directed by Dr. Henry Suzzallo are the best examples. They could be repeated with profit. The Government has gone even further and coöperated in the establishment of such organizations as the

National Research Council and the Smithsonian Institution, both of which have distinct educational implications. The recent organization of the British Film Institute, composed of representatives from the government, the industry, and the schools, for the purpose of planning the use of motion pictures for educational purposes also gives us something to think about along this line.

Many people are convinced that national planning in education can best be undertaken by voluntary organizations and committees. Judging from the experience of the past this statement is undoubtedly true. Furthermore, even though Federal agencies might be given far more extended opportunity than is possible under present circumstances in developing comprehensive plans for education, the American people and the educational profession would doubtless insist on the continued use of voluntary agencies and funds for this purpose.

The contribution which the various educational foundations have made in the field of educational planning is especially noteworthy. The study of medical education by the Carnegie Foundation resulted in a complete reorganization of medical education in the United States. The efforts of the General Education Board, the Jeanes Fund, the Slater Fund, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund have influenced profoundly all education in the Southern States, including particularly the education of Negroes. Many other examples of important national planning in education through the efforts and resources of the educational foundations could easily be cited. Indeed, the extensive activity of the foundations in the field of educational research and planning ultimately created a certain amount of opposition. In part for this reason, the educational foundations have in recent years largely pursued the policy of making grants of money to competent educational associations and committees for specified projects.

During this same time there has been a remarkable growth in the number of professional associations in all aspects of education. Most of these organizations have naturally been anxious to exert the full weight of their influence in the development of their respective fields of education. The lasting effect of the several reports issued by the American Historical Association is a case in point. In such instances, however, there is always danger of failure to take into account the needs and conditions of the total program in education and even of the place and importance of related fields of work.

Other associations with comprehensive interests, especially in elementary and secondary education, such as the National Education Association, have developed national plans and policies which have become a part of the professional platform of a large proportion of those who administer and teach in the schools. These efforts have been sporadic but stimulating.

As in the case of the several Government departments that deal with the development of educational policies, there is a great need of a means through which we may continually secure a comprehensive view of the whole of American education. The task of such an agency is to identify the significant problems which call for consideration and to plan, if possible, to arrange for an appropriate means to do so. The American Council on Education, representing a large number of educational associations and institutions, has been created for this purpose. Whether it actually succeeds in filling this need will, of course, be determined in the future.

It is clear from this statement that everybody has indulged in educational planning. In a democracy this freedom to propose new departures and points of view is essential. It is, however, just as essential that we add up our experience frequently and proceed definitely and more expeditiously to try out new poli-

cies and plans to meet changing conditions. Unless we do this many of our citizens will consciously or unconsciously begin to distrust this aspect of our democratic government. It seems highly desirable, therefore, that the Federal agencies dealing with education find a way of correlating and unifying their efforts in the development of educational planning and that the voluntary agencies and organizations dealing with similar problems bend their efforts in the same direction. There is, indeed, more opportunity for coöperation between the Government on the one hand and voluntary organizations on the other in the development of educational planning than has ever been attempted.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

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Some years ago the writer was in Kharkov, U. S. S. R. (Russia), trying to find out how many people were going to be trained for certain occupations. The authorities in charge of the process insisted that each one would be free to choose any occupation he desired and still they would come out with the correct number of persons in each occupation. Any technique that would make it possible for each person to choose his occupation and would still provide the correct number in each occupation would be of tremendous benefit to mankind.

More than fifty years ago Edward Bellamy in his famous book, *Looking Backward*, outlined a scheme that was supposed to accomplish exactly these ends. As Bellamy pointed out, the commission in charge of occupational planning would simply follow the wishes of the workers. Whenever too many people began to volunteer for one occupation, that was an indication that conditions in it were too pleasant relative to other occupations. The thing to do was to reduce wages until the proper number of people did apply. It was some such scheme as this, of course, that the planning bodies in the Soviet Union had in mind.

How does the actual planning for vocational needs in the United States compare with these more or less ideal schemes? How adequately have the facilities of education been planned for the vocational needs of our society? A study of the actual conditions in any of our more progressive States will be a little discouraging.

The very least we should expect any State to do would be to have a comprehensive plan of the optimum number of people to have in each occupation. Needless to say all of the people

should be provided for in all of the occupations. If we submit our most progressive State to this test, we shall be disappointed. There is no single State in the American Union that has even a comprehensive plan of what would be socially desirable from an occupational standpoint. If society has no estimates of the number of people there should be in the various occupations, certainly the school system can play no intelligent part in training the proper number. Nothing short of a miracle would enable the school system to turn out the desirable number of people for the various occupational fields. In fact, it can be stated with great certainty that until society at least has a plan of what it wants, the schools can do nothing very satisfactory towards turning out the correct number of people for each occupation.

Any number of objections can be raised about the difficulties of preparing such a plan. The absence of such a comprehensive plan means chaos in the occupational world. Without a socially defensible plan, each group is left to battle for its own interests. A careful study made some years ago of several of the leading professions shows that the leaders in each of these fields thought that too many people were being trained for that field. From the standpoint of their own particular group it was undoubtedly true. But in no case were they prepared to, or did they, consider the broader needs of society in reaching their conclusion.

A detailed study of how the number of people to be admitted to a particular occupation in a given State or to the educational institutions preparing for that occupation is determined will be enlightening. Take any typical Middle-Western State as an example. How many doctors will be trained in that State? The medical school or schools will admit so many people, but why this particular number? Certainly the educational authorities have no comprehensive plan for using all of the people in the State and showing what is the optimum number of people to be trained for medicine. Neither have the medical people any com-

prehensive plan for using all of the people and showing what is the optimum number of people for medicine. It is quite true that the medical people will say that this is the number of doctors to provide adequate medical service. But when you ask them what standard of medical service and for what proportion of the population, they become exceedingly vague and begin to talk about the customary standard or the standard for which people will pay. What they really mean, of course, is that a greater number of people entering medicine will lower the relative rewards for those in medicine and, of course, it will.

No group can be trusted with the determination of the number of people to be admitted to that group. The history of groups that have had power to determine their numbers offers conclusive evidence that that power will be misused. It seems to be almost inevitable that any group that has this power will confuse its own interests with the interests of mankind at large. The damage caused is not less because plausible excuses are given or even because the protection of society is said to be the cause of the limitation.

The doctors do not stand alone in advocating a policy of limitation. A study of the writings or speeches of the engineers who have expressed themselves about the topic gives ample grounds for the statement that there are too many engineers. The dentists agree that there are too many dentists. The lawyers are certain that there are too many lawyers. The architects know that there are too many architects. The plumbers, bricklayers, and carpenters know there are too many plumbers, bricklayers, and carpenters. Investigations made before 1929 show that each of these groups thought that even then too many people were entering its group. The first lesson in economic wisdom for any group is to get as small a number as possible in its own occupation and as large a number in all others.

With the members of different occupations holding these

views, it is easy to imagine the confusion of people in education. The educators have no comprehensive plan. As incredible as it may seem, there is not a single State in the Union that has a plan for the number of people that should be trained for the various occupations.

Perhaps we can find some State superintendent of public instruction who has planned what the schools and colleges should do in training people for occupational life. But a careful study fails to reveal any such man or any such State. One school system may be training ninety per cent of its students in its commercial department. Another may be turning sixty or seventy per cent of its students towards two or three professions. Whatever accidental information happens to fall in the hands of the school superintendent or school board seems to determine its plans. As Irving Fisher pointed out long ago, the establishment of a trade school for one particular occupation in a community may train so many people for that occupation that the level of income may be sharply lowered. In fact, this would be the result that would be expected unless a well-rounded program of vocational schools was established. A rather careful study has failed to locate a single community in the United States that has made any such study.

These comments are not meant to imply that school people are not socially minded. And as compared with many other fields even the results reached are probably good. There doubtless was a time in the history of educational institutions when comprehensive planning was not necessary. But that time has long since passed. We can pay the highest tribute to the social-mindedness and even to the efficiency of the education of the past without committing ourselves to a defense of that education in the future. We can be reasonably sure that education is not going to be of maximum social utility until it will set up a comprehensive organization to plan for the occupational life of our society.

It would be unfair to say that our scheme of education as it

now stands will not produce proper occupational distribution unless we are willing to indicate how it might be changed. We propose to outline very briefly the type of organization that it would be necessary to plan in order to train the proper number of people for each occupation in a technical and democratic society. It is very easy to criticize the lack of adequate planning on the part of the educational authorities. It is far more difficult to draw up a constructive program that would have some reasonable chance of being adopted. Perhaps the most difficult thing to change in order to bring about more adequate planning in education is the complacency of the American people regarding their educational system. The ordinary man in the street tends to think that the American system of education is fairly adequate. He is inclined to believe that education is free. Before there can be any adequate planning of education for occupational needs this assumption will have to be made a reality.

Those who have not stopped to consider the matter may be surprised to hear that education is not free in this country. We shall call attention to one or two matters along this line. Education is free when you can get it if you do not have any money and if your parents do not have any money. Any one who believes that a modern State university is free under this definition should try to go through one. An investigation we made a few years ago in one of the Middle Western universities showed that the average student spent \$700 per year. This university is popularly known as a free State university. In fact, the State constitution in this particular State enjoins the legislature to establish and maintain a system of free public schools from the elementary school through the university. Any one who thinks that the typical family can spare \$700 a year to send a boy or girl to college is poorly acquainted with the average incomes of this country. When there are two or three or four children in a family, it becomes fantastic to think that they can be sent to this so-called

free institution without demanding an unreasonable sacrifice on the part of the family.

One might argue in the formal sense of the word that education is free in this country. One might also argue that the scenery in the Alps is also free to any schoolboy in America. And it is quite true that once you get in Switzerland you can look at the Alps for nothing. And technically you could tell any child in the United States that a view of the Alps would cost him nothing. You might even tell him that the views were free, but unless one has the means to fulfill the conditions necessary to seeing the Alps such a statement has no meaning. It takes money and a substantial amount of it to get in a condition to see the Alps, even though they are free. It takes money and a substantial amount of it to get in a situation that you can take advantage of so-called free education. To use the term "free" in regard either to the mountain scenery or to the school is to use language to cloud the real issue. For all practical purposes education is not free in this country unless you or your family have a substantial amount of money. It only clouds the issue further to mention specific cases where boys of unusual ability were able to get education when they had no money. Boys have also seen the Alps when they had no money. We shall never get anything like a correct number of people in the professions and the so-called higher occupations until education is actually made free to all those who have sufficient ability. As long as entrance into many occupations depends upon the accident of having money there can be no occupational planning worthy of the name.

In a recent study made in the State of Ohio it was shown that the students who went to college are almost a random sample of those who finished high school. A very large proportion of the ablest boys and girls in the State are unable to continue their education. By actual test the overwhelming majority of these able boys and girls wanted to go on to college. But they stated

they did not have the money. What kind of a world is it where boys and girls want something but say that they cannot get it because they do not have money, when other people state the same thing is free? The only conclusion to reach is that education is not free in any usable sense of the term.

Lack of free education causes occupational maladjustment at the lower levels of the school system as well as at the higher. We are so accustomed to thinking that high-school education is free in this country that it will come as a shock even to suggest otherwise. But the most careful studies that we have been able to make indicate that it costs from \$100 to \$175 a year on the average for a student to go to high school. This, of course, is in addition to the money that the public spends on the so-called free high school. This hundred dollars represents additional expense if the child goes to high school over and above what would have to be spent for him if he did not go. For the successful professional or business man with an income of five or ten thousand dollars a year, the hundred dollars represents virtually nothing. And for all practical purposes the high school is free. In order to take advantage of the so-called free school an expenditure is asked which is so small in relation to his total income that no injustice is done to speak of a free school.

But to adopt the same attitude in regard to an unskilled laborer who perhaps makes five or six hundred dollars a year is totally unreasonable. To assume that he can or will spare the one hundred dollars or even half of that to keep a child in high school is to expect something that in all too many cases will not happen. Any scheme of occupational planning that is dependent upon the present inadequate conception of free education is foredoomed to a large measure of failure.

Simply providing free education, however, will not be enough to solve the problem. Thousands of boys and girls who can stay in high school or college have no guidance in regard to their

occupational future. The schools at present could not possibly know the number of people they should be training for the various occupations. Before education can play any socially minded and intelligent part in occupational distribution new planning bodies will have to be set up. No one can predict what would be the most successful form for these commissions to take. At present efforts are being made in five different communities to learn more about the technique of occupational planning and the relation of educational organizations to it.

As conditions stand now the schools have no socially defensible policy in regard to vocational training. They stand there to benefit any one who has sufficient money to take advantage of the opportunity. The result of unequal opportunity of education is to reënforce the other tendencies that make the more pleasant occupations the more highly paid. In a society of equality of opportunity high wages would quite likely have to be paid to those in the unpleasant occupations.

If education is to play any significant part in bringing about better occupational distribution it must have the help of expert planning bodies. The local and State planning commissions mentioned before will have to be set up. The State commissions will have to combine and set up a national occupational council. This will determine the optimum number of people for each occupation. All the people, of course, will have to be used to do all of the work.

THE PLAY OF SOCIAL FORCES THAT OBSTRUCT EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

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The center of the problem of educational planning is found in the fact that the public-school system was created by the political state for the accomplishment of fundamental social purposes.

Organically, this system of education is as vitally a part of the total economic, political, and social life as agriculture, manufacture, transportation, the banking system, and government. An extensive system of formal education seems to be an indispensable function of the highly developed industrial society of the modern world. Inevitably the planning and conduct of schools is at all times conditioned by the deepest social, economic, and political interests, beliefs, prejudices, attitudes, and purposes of the American people. Indeed, our system of schools can, in the last analysis, be thoroughly planned only as an integral part of a comprehensive social plan. It is inevitable that the great power groups in society should struggle for the control of this institution.

If it were not for these pressures from without, the process of educational planning could go forward at a rapid pace. The profession of education has studied the problem of designing a better system of schools and already much progress has been made in the reconstruction of the system and in adapting it to changed conditions. But this problem cannot be worked out within the quiet study of the educational theorist or the laboratories of our graduate schools of education. A system of schools does not operate in a social vacuum. The moment far-reaching administrative, fiscal, or curriculum changes are projected, great social forces are set in motion to hinder or perhaps to promote the adoption of these plans. Too often the educational planners have failed to take the trouble to understand these forces and

fashion their strategy accordingly. Too often, indeed, educational planners have seemed all unconscious of the operation of power groups, of the implication of the stratification of American society, or of vital elements in American tradition. But these forces cannot be ignored. They present the most difficult educational problem with which the educator must deal in this period, even more difficult than the formulation of broad social purposes. The operation of these forces will be considered briefly in their bearing upon three of the major contemporary issues in American education—control and administration, fiscal policies, and the curriculum.

As the most casual and superficial observer knows, the administrative organization of the American public school closely parallels our political organization. Indeed, in its administration and control the school has been fashioned in the image of the State, and can be understood only in the light of American history. American public education is unique for its system of local control, which had its genesis in the isolated communities of the earliest settlements and which was carried across the country with the advancing frontier. The colonies, and later the States, enacted legislation for the encouragement of schools, and a century ago, in the period of the Jacksonian upheaval, free public education was firmly established as a part of American policy. Education was not mentioned in the Federal Constitution. Therefore, under our system of delegated powers, the control of education is reserved to the States. Free schools were established by the States and are today maintained as State systems, but, consonant with the tradition of particularism in our political life, these schools are actually to a very large extent locally controlled.

These facts have a much more important bearing upon the problem of planning than appears on the surface. The small school district has amazing powers of persistence. There are still 150,000 one-room schools in the United States, most of

them controlled by local boards of trustees and loosely supervised by county superintendents, in most instances popularly elected. In some States the school trustees still outnumber the teachers, including all those in the towns and cities. With students of school administration in general agreement as to the desirability of larger administrative units, consolidation of rural schools has made considerable headway in recent years, as has the movement for the adoption of the county unit. But the opposition to the larger units is powerful. Vested interests are often involved. The local community wants its own school or is afraid it will not get the larger consolidated school. But the chief obstacle is found in the deep attachment which Americans, and particularly the rural population, have for the tradition of local control. These small districts constitute a serious barrier to educational progress.

The boundaries of local government units, of townships and counties, were laid out long before the age of railroads, hard roads, and automobiles, to say nothing of the airplane, the electric telegraph, the telephone, and the radio. These boundaries are in many instances highly artificial. Even our State lines are artificial. Great communities sprawl across State lines. The great metropolitan communities that are in reality New York City and Chicago each occupy portions of three States. These political divisions in many instances have no rationality except as they are explained in terms of their historical evolution. Coupled with a direct democracy under which innumerable administrative officers are chosen by popular vote, they often make for inefficiency and even for corruption in local government. Already, demands for the enlargement and reorganization of these units are being made by students of government and by many leaders in political life. Larger civil administrative units will mean larger school administrative units. The profession of education should lend its support to this movement and should participate in designing a

system of local government adapted to modern conditions. But all these proposals will be resisted at every turn by ignorance and prejudice, by local politicians for very obvious reasons, and by some of the most powerful vested interests in American life. Opposition to a realignment of State boundaries would be bitter. The cry of States' rights is a very convenient one and is always raised whenever the pecuniary interests of any important group are threatened. The Federal Pure Foods and Drugs Act was opposed by manufacturers and distributors in the name of States' rights! The reconstruction of State and local administration of schools is a vital element in a political problem of the first magnitude.

Powerful social forces operate to block reconstruction of our system of financial support of education. The need for redesigning this system is desperate. Support for schools and for local and State government has been derived principally from the traditional personal and real property tax, a tax that has long since proved thoroughly unsatisfactory as the principal tax base. Adequate financial support for schools involves, then, the reconstruction of our whole scheme of taxation through the extension of the income tax and other taxes which always meet with determined resistance by the classes and groups affected, regardless of public interest. Traditionally, each school district has supported its own schools with but slight assistance from county or State. These districts vary tremendously in their ability to support education. One school district in my own State of New York has \$71,000 of taxable wealth per pupil to be educated, while another district has only \$1,377 of taxable wealth per pupil. These discrepancies and inequalities can be eliminated only by State and Federal participation in the support of schools. The important consideration here is the highly integrated character of our economy and the concentration of wealth in urban communities, and especially in the great metropolitan areas and

financial centers of the country. The proposal to levy State-wide taxes for larger State participation in the support of schools is always strongly opposed by interests and classes disposed to resist all increases in taxation and by groups unfavorable to the principle of public education. Only compelling public opinion can overcome this resistance. Some very encouraging progress has been made in the reconstruction of the finance and support of schools in New York, Delaware, and some other States, but on the whole, the systems of school finance in the United States are thoroughly antiquated.

The redesigning of the system of school support will of necessity go on *pari passu* with the reconstruction of local government. These problems are all interlocked and can never be disentangled. In an economy as highly integrated as ours, many of the existing States can never maintain good schools without Federal aid. The States of the nation vary in the ratio of one to seven in their ability to support education, with many States hopelessly unable to provide adequate support even in the rosiest years of prosperity. The cry of States' rights is, of course, always raised in opposition to Federal participation in the support of education. Federal aid is opposed also on the ground that control will go with support. This is an appeal to the deepest tradition in American life, the tradition of local control. In these depression years, potent lobbies at Washington and in the State capitals, representing great propertied interests, are demanding economy in all departments of government and opposing the extension of the services of the Federal Government, including Federal participation in the financing of schools. By no means are all persons of wealth opposed to adequate taxes for school support, but there is nothing to be gained by disguising or slurring over the fact that the opposition to the reconstruction of finance laws comes from those classes most affected by the imposition of income and other new taxes and principally from the

cities where the higher bracket income-tax payers reside. Opposition from the national and State chambers of commerce and similar organizations is always fairly certain.

All plans for the improvement of the curriculum of the schools must take into consideration the social forces that are struggling to control and direct the course of public and private education. The most casual observer is familiar with the efforts of various groups to control the curriculum, especially in its religious, economic, and political bearings. A vast amount of legislation pertaining to the curriculum has been enacted in the various States. The famous anti-evolution law in the State of Tennessee is an example. Much of this legislation is designed to prevent the teaching of "subversive" economic, social, or political doctrines. The schools are at all times subjected to direct pressures, sometimes almost coercive, seeking to influence teaching especially with reference to economic and political questions. Miss Bessie Pierce in her *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*¹ studied the printed pronouncements with reference to education of over two hundred citizens' organizations, ranging all the way from the National Security League to the peace societies, from the National Chamber of Commerce to the American Federation of Labor, from the Knights of Columbus to the Ku Klux Klan, from the Daughters of the Revolution to the Communist party. In locality, State, and nation there are literally thousands of these organizations that, in one way or another, are seeking to influence instruction in the schools.

One other fact that the educational planner must take into consideration is the stratification of American society. From the beginning of our public schools the lower middle and laboring classes have been the strongest advocates of public education while the chief opposition to the extension of the services of the public schools has always come from the more favored classes in society. This statement, of course, somewhat oversimplifies

¹ New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

the case. Certain religious groups have at times opposed the extension of the public schools, while individuals at various levels of society may oppose or support public education. Indeed, much of its ablest moral support and lay leadership has always come from enlightened individuals belonging to the most favored economic classes. The educator has made his appeal for support primarily to the upper classes in recognition of the fact that they wield most of the power in this country. But in this the educator has not been wise. His appeal should be more to the middle and lower classes, for it is these classes that are principally served by the schools, and in a political democracy the ultimate power rests with them, for at the ballot their numbers are irresistible.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in progress in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

CLEVELAND WELFARE FEDERATION NEIGHBORHOOD STUDIES

The following outline has been prepared by Charles E. Hendry, one of the two field workers responsible for this undertaking. It is an attempt to provide certain information concerning the purpose and plan of the study to those who inquire concerning the project.

This study is sponsored by the Welfare Federation of Cleveland and is under the immediate direction of a research committee, of which Mr. Jay Iglauer is chairman. In addition to the research committee a working committee has been appointed chaired by Rev. Almon R. Papper. The function of the working committee is to keep rather close to the study as it proceeds and share in the actual formulation of the plans and in the criticism of the process.

The two persons elected to make the study are Margaret E. Svendsen of the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, and Charles E. Hendry, associate professor of sociology, George Williams College, Chicago.

Briefly stated, the assignment in this study involves three major purposes:

1. To study the interests and needs of adolescent boys (10 to 19 years of age) in the light of neighborhood backgrounds and with special attention to those areas of the adolescent boy's life which group and casework agencies are attempting to serve
2. To evaluate the effectiveness of group and caseworking agencies in their attempt to serve the adolescent boy under consideration
3. To formulate recommendations in the light of the findings indicating how agency policies and practices can be adjusted so that group and caseworking agencies can more nearly meet the needs of the situation

Three tributary or supplementary purposes are also involved:

1. It is the hope of the research committee that a pattern of study may be demonstrated which can be applied to other sections of Cleveland.
2. It is the desire of the committee that the relationship between group and caseworking agencies be clarified.

3. A third supplementary purpose is to provide through this study a new set of facts and considerations for central and local budgetary study.

The procedure: preliminary steps

1. Selection of the areas. Sixteen principles or criteria were used in the selection of the two areas for this study. One set of criteria was used on the assumption that only one area might be selected. The other set of criteria was used on the assumption that two areas would be selected for intensive study. The sets of criteria developed are reproduced at this point as a matter of record.

I. Check List for Use in Selecting One Area: (a) Is the area representative of the people to be found in a number of other sections of Cleveland so that the findings of the study would apply in general to other sections of the city? (b) Does the area contain a substantial percentage of persons under 35 years of age? (c) In its physical aspects is the area likely to remain essentially the same for a number of years, at least five? (d) Is the character of its population likely to remain essentially the same for a number of years, at least five? (e) Is there present in the area at least one group-working agency (assuming that caseworking agencies operate in each area? (f) Is the area defined by natural boundaries? (g) Is there a community consciousness evident and crystallized in community organization? (h) Would the agencies in the area be willing and able to cooperate in a study? (i) Are there good prospects of being able to affect policy and modify practice if the study reveals the need for such? (j) Does the area avoid extreme social pathology (ruling out depression factors)?

II. Check List for Use in Selecting Two Areas: (a) Which two areas include in their composition the predominant nationalities with which the social agencies deal? (b) Which two areas give a good representation of a contrast in these nationalities? (c) Which two areas best represent something of a contrast in economic status as seen through housing and living standards? (d) Which two areas best represent a contrast in the length of stay of the people in this country? (e) Which two areas best represent a contrast in the length of stay of the people in the area involved? (f) Which two areas offer a contrast and variety in the types of group work or recreational services afforded?

Census data were assembled, also the opinions of well-informed persons, and, in a memorandum dated June 25, 1934, this body of information was presented and analyzed. The result was the selection of the Tremont area and a section of Collinwood in northwest Cleveland.

2. Exploratory interviews to be undertaken as one of the preliminary steps resulted in coming in contact with selected key persons with both city-wide and local knowledge respecting the welfare program in both the areas. These interviews will be continued throughout the study, the focus of the interview changing as new findings modify the central interests and purposes of the investigation.
3. Development of Local Committees. Following the interviewing of key persons in the local areas, two committees, one in each of the areas will be appointed by the research committee to share in the general direction of the investigation. It is hoped that these local committees will be as widely representative as possible and that they will give local support and gain local recognition for the undertaking.

ACTUAL STEPS IN THE EXECUTION OF THE STUDY

Step number one .

1. Census enumeration. Preliminary discussion of this matter has resulted in the following inventory of items which might be included in such a census. It will be noted that, in a large measure, it is a duplication of the Federal census, with some additional items: address; name; relationship to head of family; home owned or rented; value or monthly rental; when did you move here?; where did you live before you moved here?; sex; color or race; age at last birthday; marital condition; name of school; grade last year; name of church attended; whether able to read and write; place of birth for each person and for the father and mother in particular; language spoken in the home before coming to the United States; year of migration to the United States; naturalization; whether able to speak English; whether able to read English (the last five items for foreign-born persons only); occupation; industry; class of worker; employed?; how long ago did you work last?
2. Preparation of Individual Record Card. A basic individual record card will be prepared for each boy in the two areas between the ages of ten and nineteen, inclusive.
3. Statistical Analysis of the Individual Records. In treating these data, an effort will be made to discover significant differences as between boys reached and boys not reached by the group-work programs in terms of the following comparisons: blocks; ages; nationalities and color; retarded in school; accelerated in school; subnormal in intelligence; very bright in intelligence; delinquent;

nondelinquent; index of acceptability; and other selected items. The net result of this first step should be to indicate concentration of services geographically and by other considerations, gaps in the service, or overlapping.

Step number two

The study of social forces and neighborhood backgrounds.

1. History of the area
2. Ecology of the area: (a) An aerial map of the two areas to accentuate and make more vivid the topographical and physical character of the area has been prepared; (b) a social base map colored to indicate the use of land and property, trade centers, and institutions will be prepared; (c) detailed analysis and interpretation of existing data collected according to census tracts will be used; (d) analysis of selected data by blocks.
3. Street play and neighborhood groups. Special attention will be given to the study of street play and the location of neighborhood play groups, clubs, teams, and gangs. Observations and interviews will be made covering commercial recreation, also nationality, fraternal, and political clubs.
4. Counts of participation. An effort will be made to have actual counts taken of participation at the moving-picture theater, at mass, at the playground, library, bath house, settlement, Y. M. C. A., etc., for certain days and certain hours to discover realistically and directly where boys spend their time at selected intervals.
5. Interviews and other observations. Extensive interviewing will be done both with adults and with boys in the area, also with selected boys at the Hudson Boys Farm where they are detained because of delinquency.

Step number three

First-hand observations of agencies in action. These will cover both summer and winter operations.

Schedules will be used to examine the various aspects of the program as indicated in the following classification of areas in the following categories: membership practices; grouping practices; leadership practices; educational objectives and methods; physical equipment; administration; community relationship.

Step number four

Intensive study of the needs and interests of a sampling of individuals. An attempt will be made to use a scientific sampling which will give a representative picture of the boy population geographically, by age, by

nationality, and in other ways. Of special concern will be the differences in attitudes between persons who are served and persons who are not served by the group-working agencies.

Some of the areas of the individual's experience to be studied are: (a) relationship to and attitudes towards existing group-work agencies; (b) range and nature of interests with particular attention to unsatisfied interests; (c) friends and group experience; (d) family interrelationships as they bear on the child's interests and ambitions; (e) attitude towards length of stay in and towards the neighborhood; (f) attitude towards school and church; (g) physical condition as it affects activity; (h) vocational experience and outlook.

BOOK REVIEWS

Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Conclusions and Recommendations. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, xi + 168 pages.

This volume presents the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, sponsored by the American Historical Association. To those interested in the social studies, and that should include all persons interested in education, this volume is recommended. It presents a philosophy and a point of view relative to society, education, and the social studies with portions of which many persons will be in disagreement. In our society, it holds that the age of individualism is passing and that a new age of collectivism is emerging. A supreme purpose of education is stated to be the preparation of the rising generation to enter the collectivistic society now coming into being through thought, ideal, and knowledge, rather than through coercion, regimentation, and ignorance.

Rebel America, by LILLIAN SYMES AND TRAVERS CLEMENT.
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934, xi + 392 pages.

With all its limitations, this brief, almost superficial, review of the history of American radicalism and of the American labor movement makes both a fascinating and a valuable book. The book ought to be particularly valuable to the students of sociology. Exposed to the ideology of an academic world which belongs neither to the radical intellectuals nor to the ranks of labor, the student of sociology has been prone to accept too unquestioningly the "wish fulfillment" philosophy of our property classes that conflict and revolution are not the American way of progress—a theory which has made us look upon every attempt at radical social change as essentially foreign.

Insecurity: A Challenge to America, by ABRAHAM EPSTEIN.
New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1933, 680 pages.

Economic security through social legislation is the concern of this book. In no other comparable volume can one find a similar wealth of material on the varieties of unemployment-insurance schemes (analyses

of plans operating in twenty-three countries are included), old-age pension plans, workmen's compensation, mothers' pensions, and compulsory health insurance. Critical evaluations of these insurance plans as well as schemes for economic security through public-works programs, welfare capitalism, and the like mark the book as a definitive work on the subject.

The Native's Return, by LOUIS ADAMIC. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934, vi + 370 pages.

The Native's Return is a socio-economic study of the various groups of people comprising what is now known as "The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes." It is a study of cultural conflicts in an economy which until recently has been relatively untouched by Western industrialism. A fine document, for students of sociology, of a culture in violent transition.

Sociology and the Study of International Relations, by LUTHER LEE BERNARD AND JESSIE BERNARD. Washington University Studies, New Series, Social and Philosophical Sciences, No. 4, St. Louis: Washington University, 1934, 115 pages.

To the student seeking a comprehensive bibliography of the writings of sociologists upon the problems of international relations, this study is invaluable. To one wishing a concise interpretation of their points of view, it is an unparalleled source. The specific topics discussed include immigration and assimilation, war and imperialism, peace and peaceful relations. The remaining chapters present the relationship of sociology to other fields of study.

Shadow of the Plantation, by CHARLES S. JOHNSON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934, 212 pages.

This volume is concerned with the Negro peasants of the Southern plantations and seeks to present a picture of the backgrounds, the family, the economic life of the community, the school and the people, religion and the church, play life and survival. The book represents an exacting research into the social backgrounds of the group studied and is a valuable contribution to the increasing literature on the Negro.

Negro-White Adjustment, by PAUL E. BAKER. New York: Association Press, 1934, 272 pages.

In this factual study of race relations in the United States the author has made a careful investigation into the relative effectiveness of techniques for racial understanding. He has limited his study to the activities of ten national interracial organizations such as the Commission on International Understanding, the Society of Friends, and the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. Although the author concludes that the race problem will become increasingly difficult to solve by any method, he believes that the conference technique will be increasingly used; and, following such readjustments as intensified conflict situations will bring about, the conference technique will develop on an equality basis.

The Negro Professional Man and the Community, by CARTER GODWIN WOODSON. Washington, D. C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1934, 350 pages.

The Negro Professional Man and the Community, with special emphasis upon the physician and lawyer, is a distinct contribution to the increasing literature by and about Negroes in American life. This book is a valuable addition to the literature, first, because of the painstaking care of the author in gathering and presenting facts and, second, because of the sympathetic understanding and presentation of the facts of a submerged and struggling minority cultural group.

Americans at Play, by JESSE FREDERICK STEINER. Recent Social Trends Monographs. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, 196 pages.

One of the Recent Social Trends Monographs, it presents an excellent picture of the development of the more highly institutionalized recreational activities. Evidence of progress is indicated by increase in facilities, participants, and expenditures. The author claims that the evidence indicates a movement away from watching to active participation and the recognition of play as a means of healthful living. Factors which have contributed to the enormous increase in interest and participation in recreational activities are: increased leisure, higher standards of living for many, the break away from the Sunday tradition, concept of strenuous sports as a way to health, and the World War, all of which have led to changed attitudes concerning play. A book which should be in the hands

of all who are interested in social trends and who are attempting to build for tomorrow.

Children of the New Day, by KATHERINE GLOVER AND EVELYN DEWEY. New York: D. Appleton-Century, Inc., 1934, 320 pages.

This book is an outgrowth of the Conference on Child Health and Protection, held in Washington, D. C., November 1930. Its purpose is "to present some of the trends and to interpret some of the thoughts and facts brought together by experts of the Conference Committees." The authors have prepared a volume full of helpful material for the parent, the teacher, the sociologist; in fact, for every one seeking to understand childhood and its needs. The problems of physical, mental, and emotional growth of the child are set forth not merely as factors of child development, but are presented in relation to their natural environment: the home, the community, and the school.

Civilized Life, The Principles and Applications of Social Psychology, by KNIGHT DUNLAP. Baltimore: William and Wilkins Company, 1934, 374 pages.

To those familiar with the author's *Social Psychology*, published in 1925, this revision and enlargement of the earlier book will be very welcome. The material has been brought up-to-date and three new chapters added on Desire, Race and Civilization, and the Child. To those who are not familiar with the earlier volume, it may be stated that here is an interestingly written and comprehensive yet concise analysis of the development of the individual in the complex pattern of our present civilization.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Constitution and Health, by RAYMOND PEARL. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc.

Conversion, by A. D. NOCK. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jewish Library, Third Series, edited by RABBI LEO JUNG. New York: Jewish Library Publishing Company.

Labor and Steel, by HORACE B. DAVIS. New York: International Publishers Company.

- Leadership in Group Work*, by HENRY M. BUSCH. New York: Association Press.
- Leisure Hours of Five Thousand People: A Report of a Study of Leisure Time Activities and Desires*. New York: National Recreation Association.
- Manual of Nursery School Practice*, by IOWA CHILD WELFARE RESEARCH STATION. Iowa City: University of Iowa.
- Mental Hygiene and Education*, by MANDEL SHERMAN. New York: Longmans, Green and Company.
- Mental Hygiene in the Classroom*, by CLARA BASSETT. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Method of Sociology*, by FLORIAN ZNANIECKI. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.
- Money Changers vs The New Deal*, by HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc.
- National Society of College Teachers of Education*, Yearbook No. XXII, 1934. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- No More Unemployed*, by JOHN B. CHEADLE, HOWARD O. EATON, and CORTEZ A. M. EWING. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Organization and Supervision of Guidance in Public Education*, by RICHARD D. ALLEN. Volume IV, Inor Group-Guidance Series. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc.
- Precious Books—Why and Where They Are Treasured*. Dallas: A. T. Walveren Book Cover Company.
- Prediction of Vocational Success*, by EDWARD L. THORNDYKE, ET AL. New York: Commonwealth Fund.
- Psychology of Infancy*, by VICTORIA HAZLITT. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc.
- Reality and Illusion*, by RICHARD ROTHSCHILD. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Road to Adolescence*, by JOSEPH GARLAND. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Russia, Youth and the Present Day World*, by FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.

- School Publicity*, by BELMONT FARLEY. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press.
- Seeing and Human Welfare*, by MATTHEW LUCKIESH. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company.
- Self-Measurement Projects in Group Guidance*, by RICHARD D. ALLEN. Volume III, Inor Group-Guidance Series. New York: Inor Publishing Company.
- Social Composition of the Secondary Schools of the Southern States*, by FLOYD JORDAN. Nashville, Tennessee: George Peabody College for Teachers.
- Social Science Research Council*, Decennial Report, 1923-1933. New York: Social Science Research Council.
- Social Science Research Organization in American Universities and Colleges*, by WILSON GEE. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.
- Sociology of City Life*, by NILES CARPENTER. New York: Longmans, Green and Company.
- Source Book in the Philosophy of Education*, by WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Study of Library Reading in the Primary Grades*, by C. DEWITT BONEY. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Transitional Public School*, by CYRUS D. MEAD and FRED W. ORTH. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Vitality*, by BORIS SOKOLOFF. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc.
- Vocational Aptitudes of Second-Generation Japanese in the United States*, by EDWARD K. STRONG, JR., and REGINALD BELL. Education-Psychology, Vol. I, No. 1. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press.
- Why Die Before Your Time*, by HENRY S. WILLIAMS. New York: Robert McBride and Company.
- Women Who Work*, by GRACE HUTCHINS. New York: International Publishers Company.

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EDITORIAL

This issue of THE JOURNAL is primarily concerned with some of the social and educational implications of the Tennessee Valley project. The contributed articles present certain aspects of the Valley program. Any one who knows anything about that great technological undertaking will not need to be told that these are *samplings*, both as to facts and as to interpretations. No hope of offering a complete picture has been entertained by the editor. But, as samplings, the offerings are important.

Social change is the outstanding characteristic of American life today. Much of this change is sheer drift—the aftermath of the industrialization of our earlier agricultural economy; in most of the nation, whatever happens just happens! But, now, in the Tennessee Valley, technologists are attempting to bring all these processes of change into a well-defined program, and to direct them to chosen ends, as much as may be. On the physical side, this fact is obvious even to the casual tourist who stops for only a moment to gaze in awe on the mighty work being done. But there are things which no tourist is likely to see, and these less obvious things are at least as important as the more spectacular ones.

The enormous gulf between American “culture” and the promises of technology is nowhere more vividly dramatized than in the Tennessee Valley. Everywhere our culture still lingers in the nostalgic haunts of agricultural days, except as it has been shattered by machineries in the industrial centers, and here it is a mingling of rural innocence and the ugliness that comes of

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"conspicuous waste." Nowhere have we developed a culture that is the worthy spiritual expression of the promises of science and technology. Our inner life is nowhere the spiritual realization of the implications of our industrial programs.

The Tennessee Valley project offers us the preliminary promise that this ghastly gulf between the body and the soul of America is to be filled in at last, so that the two may be united and a healthy organic integrity may be attained. The machines that are gnawing away the hills of East Tennessee are laying the foundations of stability, security, a good life. They are laying the foundations; these machines cannot *give* us that good life. They are destroying many of the forms of the older social order; they cannot, themselves, put anything adequate in the place of what they are destroying. The machine can tear down old social orders; it cannot, itself, create new social orders, develop new cultures, create new social minds, evolve new moral outlooks, bring new spiritual realizations. It cannot even build a new earth, in any genuine sense; it can apply mathematical principles to the processes of change and produce an earth that is mathematically ordered. But in what respects would such an earth be more desirable than the present one?

It must be obvious that technology needs guidance. It must be equally obvious that it cannot accept the guidance of the older social order, whose foundations it is undermining; but, it must be no less obvious that the new, creative, spiritual guidance that it needs is largely lacking in America today. Who among our statesmen, save President Roosevelt and Senator Norris, are greatly cheered by the progress being made in the Valley? What educators are studying this enormous reconstruction of a great region in order to find out what education should be for the future, or to help guide this program into new creative futures? What religious leaders are finding in this great enterprise the congenial soil for the growth of that generous and humane reli-

gion of the future, the only religious interpretation that is consonant with modern technology, which is described in John Dewey's latest book, *A Common Faith*? Here, probably for the first time in America, the opportunity is offered to modern minds of every interest to unite with the most modern science and technology in the creation of a modern civilization. Where are the creative leaders of industry, economy, statesmanship, morality, religion, education, and art? Why do not all these join hands, and hearts, and minds in a common cause with scientists and engineers in this greatest of all efforts of the American spirit—to realize, in this twentieth century, the creative hopes of the eighteenth, which have been lost during the nineteenth under the blinding smoke and grime of industrialism?

A word about the articles in this issue. Mr. Arthur E. Morgan, chairman of the TVA, found time, in the midst of busy days, to write the introductory article. This must be read in connection with others, published elsewhere, if the reader is to discover what this great project in the Valley means to the educator-engineer who is in charge.

In the second article, the director of personnel and social activities offers a survey of the educational and social program of the Authority, and shows what is being done, from the inside, to discover and realize the educational implications of the development.

The third article, written by a college teacher in the Valley, sets forth some of the resistant factors in the older social order in the Valley; the hard materials out of which any "new social order" must largely be created.

The fourth is the work of a newspaper man in the Valley, who signs a pen name to his work. Mr. Woods has had first-hand contact with the program and the problems of the Authority, almost from the first. His convictions are based on his own experiences.

The final article is a chapter from a book on the TVA and its educational and social implications which is now nearing completion.

The articles in this issue are presented as a slight sampling of fact and interpretation, with the hope that readers, generally, but educational sociologists, in particular, will come to realize more fully the project of *controlled reconstruction* now getting forward in the Valley; the inevitability of such reconstructions unless modern technology is to be outlawed; the inadequacy of such reconstructions when they are guided by engineering or productive purposes alone; the enormous significance of such constructive programs for social and educational reorganization; and the responsibility of all the educational and spiritual interests of the land for help in guiding the project to the most desirable ends.

JOSEPH K. HART



SOCIAL METHODS OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

ARTHUR E. MORGAN

Chairman, Tennessee Valley Authority

At the close of the World War it seemed that all Europe would go democratic, and democratic forms were set up. Today that hope is deflated. In Czechoslovakia, where a large part of the people had for generations been democratic in temper in spite of political suppression, the new democracy seems to survive. For the most part, however, those peoples who were democratic before are democratic now. Those who had not slowly mastered self-government did not have that mastery conferred upon them by the Treaty of Versailles.

A temper of life grows slowly. A sudden turn of circumstances may change the outward appearance of society, but not the inner fiber. If human quality has been denied full expression, a turn of circumstance may provide opportunity and there may be the appearance of sudden development, but the actual process of development has been gradual over a long period. Leadership and education can greatly accelerate processes of social growth and in a mixed society may determine whether power shall rest with a progressive, socially minded element, or with those who are confirmed in exploiting things as they are.

When political and economic forms deny opportunity to a spirit of growth and vigorous expression, social and economic development may be checked or distorted until that incubus is removed. When political, social, and economic forms run ahead of ability to use them wisely, the great need is for education and the growth of character, rather than for political, social, or economic change.

In the varying and complex life of America we find every kind of maladjustment. To a considerable degree our political

and social and economic structure has provided opportunity for progress far beyond what we have had the spirit to use. In other respects, the arbitrariness of existing institutions and vested interests has thwarted and perverted the normal expression of reasonable hope and aspiration. We cannot trust our future either to political and economic change alone or to education alone. It is the function of leadership through education to encourage and accelerate understanding of political, social, and economic facts and principles, and to encourage the development of the skill and character necessary to meet issues. It is also the function of leadership to help to remove political and economic barriers to the normal expression of reasonable human hopes. The measure of leadership is the ability to appraise correctly the relative importance of issues, and the character, drive, and skill to bring about the desired changes.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was created by Congress at the suggestion of the President to bring about certain developments in the drainage area of the Tennessee River and in adjacent regions similarly placed. It has certain very obvious duties—sale of surplus power, the building of dams, and the production of cheap fertilizer. These projects are relatively well known and I shall not discuss them here.

In addition, the Tennessee Valley Authority is instructed to make studies, experiments, and demonstrations with the aim of improving social and economic conditions within the area. This is a fairly general instruction, not too well implemented, but we have been doing our best to work under it. Some of this work has been of a fairly obvious nature. Soil erosion is destroying the very physical foundation of the rural culture of this region. So we have been promoting soil conservation by example and precept. Forests had been denuded, and we are working out an orderly forest policy in cooperation with foresters of the adjoining States and of the National Government. Plow crops tend to soil destruc-

tion and experiments are under way to change the type of agriculture from corn and cotton to grass crops and dairying. Small mountain farms are not adequate for cash income, and agricultural income should be supplemented by local industries. A large amount of work is being done to discover what industries would be feasible and appropriate. Coöperatives are being encouraged to supply a *modus operandi* for local production and distribution.

Yet all these and similar activities will not bring a new day in this region unless they release the social and spiritual qualities inherent in the people and encourage the dominance of desirable qualities. How can a contribution be made to this end? I am of the opinion that for cultural and spiritual development we do not so much need to do specific things as we do need certain attitudes and methods in the performance of everyday duties. Let me describe some of the opportunities we have had to contribute to desirable attitudes.

Every one knows the extent to which political patronage has controlled public employment in various parts of the United States. By entirely refusing to countenance political patronage, and by making appointments on merit only, we have, I believe, made a contribution to confidence in public institutions and in public life which is greater than any number of preachments on the subject.

We have made progress in labor relations. TVA workmen have come to believe in general that their rights are respected, that misunderstandings can have fair hearing, and that the relations of labor and management are those of men coöperating for a common purpose, and not the relations of natural enemies. We are working together for the building of a labor code—a common law of labor—which will enable every workman to know his rights and duties, and not leave him dependent on the chance opinion of foreman or superintendent. Collective bargaining is

encouraged. I believe that the contribution to labor relations of the TVA is significant.

The matter of race relations is prominent. We have not solved that problem for TVA workers, but we have made contributions to it. Negro workers are employed in the same proportion as they occur in the population and are paid the same wages for the same work. Their social and personal needs are being regarded.

The place for us to begin the New Deal is wherever we are. We had to build a dam. To spread employment, we divided the day into four shifts of five and a half hours each. That leaves much leisure time. We are providing a varied educational program for that leisure. Men are being trained in general farming, dairying, creamery management, forestry, foremanship, wood and iron work, and in increasing their skill in various crafts. We have built a modern village near the Norris Dam for workers. The houses are well planned and are examples of what a farmer or working man may hope for. A woman's program includes home economics, child care, home crafts, literature, and varied other subjects. Courses for men also cover numerous cultural subjects.

It is not only in the subjects taught that a contribution is made, but also in the atmosphere and in the methods of teaching. A social point of view, a sense of social responsibility, and a loyalty to one's country tend to result from these undertakings carried on by competent men who have a high degree of loyalty to the public interest.

I might further describe our work in sanitation, in malarial control, in training for managing coöperatives, and in various other fields. Part of the results depend on what is being done, but a large part depends on the contagiousness of an example of competent, conscientious administration of public funds, on an attitude of democratic coöperation and friendliness, and on the contagiousness of contact with imagination, hope, and courage.

I have not described any design for social planning. Elements of such design are emerging, as in the labor code, in coöperative organizations, in plans for educational coöperation, and in other ways. Plans must emerge through experience and growth in outlook, in which the whole people must share. They cannot succeed if they are imposed from above and do not set on fire the hope and imagination and determination of the people. The Tennessee Valley Authority does not apologize for the fact that its social program does not emerge complete and made to order.

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY

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The years 1929 to 1933 brought about an awareness on the part of the people of these United States that our social and economic organization was not functioning in a satisfactory manner. For many years periodic depressions had occurred, each worse than the previous one. President Roosevelt, at the beginning of his administration, had two major problems to solve: first, to assist in devising a plan of national recovery; and, second, to prevent the recurrence of periodic depressions.

Emergency agencies, such as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Public Works Administration, Civil Works Administration, National Industrial Recovery Administration, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and others, were created for the purpose of national recovery. The Tennessee Valley Authority is an experimental effort directed primarily towards the solution of the second problem. There had been too little planning in previous years. The way out seemed to be along the line of careful and basic planning.

For many reasons the Tennessee Valley was selected as a logical area in which to try out a large-scale planning experiment. The Government had already invested large sums of money in the plant of Muscle Shoals. Here was an opportunity to utilize and profit from that investment. Then, too, the Tennessee Valley has great resources with which to work. There are a wealth of human resources, a variety of mineral resources, favorable climatic conditions, abundant water, and a reservoir of potential power. Factors for a prosperous and progressive community are present, yet production and consumption have continued on a low level. Industry has not replaced agriculture as

in some sections of the country. Relatively, this is not a mechanized society. Here, then, is an opportunity for a planned regional development.

Furthermore, with all its potential wealth, the region has been rapidly becoming impoverished. Forests have been cut and fertile topsoil has been washed away, leaving a barren soil from which the people cannot eke out even a meager existence. In recent years many of the more enterprising people who migrated to industrial centers in the North were forced to return to the Valley to comparative economic inactivity. The development of the Tennessee Valley has offered relatively little attraction to private industry. It would seem that the task of developing a more stable and prosperous life for future generations in this area needs assistance from a public agency.

In a brief article, such as this, it is possible to describe only a small part of the program looking towards social-economic development in the Tennessee Valley. This discussion will be limited to four phases of the work: social and economic studies, health and medical service, labor relations, and employee training.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

When the Tennessee Valley Authority came into existence, there were several specific tasks ahead that had to be done—building Norris Dam, for example. A beginning was made there, and, while the construction work is under way, preparations are being made to meet the problems already in existence or created by the construction program itself. Much information is necessary as the basis of intelligent planning for the social-economic development of an area so large as the Tennessee Valley region.

In December 1933, in the midst of unprecedented unemployment, the Tennessee Valley Authority was able to begin needed surveys and research by use of a personnel made available by funds from the Civil Works Administration. A portion

of this personnel was allocated to the compilation of basic social and economic data. Some one hundred and fifty projects in the general fields of economics, government, education, and sociology were completed and reported prior to May first, when the Civil Works program was discontinued. These projects covered basic subjects, such as marketing and industrial problems, governmental organization and public finance, educational facilities, population movements, living conditions, and other related topics. The method used in securing this information was that of coöperation with trained research directors throughout the area. Research professors in the universities and directors of various research agencies were allotted personnel from the unemployment rolls; they proceeded with problems that had been suggested by a committee representing both the research groups within the area and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

When the Social and Economic Division of the Authority was set up, it was charged, in particular, with the duties of research and planning in the social and economic fields. Associated with this Division in the larger program of planning and demonstration are five other divisions; namely, Agricultural, Industrial, Land Planning and Housing, Engineering and Geology, and Forestry. Working coöperatively, these divisions develop plans and appraise methods to be used throughout the varied program of the Authority. Plans presented by an individual or a division are subjected to a critical appraisal by those associated in the other divisions, and thereby benefit from a wide range of experience.

Problems of the Social and Economic Division are principally of two types. First, there are those of an emergency nature dealt with as services to other divisions of the Authority. Illustrative of this type are problems relating to the transfer of families from reservoir areas; the development of educational facilities in communities where large groups of employees of the Authority are

located; planning for the social activities of such communities; the development of necessary commercial facilities for them; the preparation of information necessary for the establishment of health units; the study of areas proposed for immediate reforestation, with particular attention to the social costs involved; the study of local government problems arising as a result of the Tennessee Valley Authority's activities within a given area; and the appraisal of the economic aspects of numerous other projects requiring technical training in this field. A large number of similar problems could be mentioned; the above merely serve to illustrate this type of service.

The second type of problem dealt with by the Division relates to long-range planning. As a planning agency, it is essential that the Social and Economic Division anticipate problems that will come before the Authority at a later time and attempt through research to formulate plans for their solution. Some of this work is carried on through the use of the research facilities of institutions within the area, and some is cared for directly by staff members of the Division. Planning in the social-science fields is not simple. It is more than a manipulative process. It cannot succeed if superimposed upon the present pattern of life in the area. To be permanent it must come through a redirection from within. A coöperative method, therefore, such as can be developed by some use of various research workers and participating groups in the institutions of the Tennessee Valley, appears to ensure more lasting results.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL SECTION

With the beginning of construction work, provision for medical service to employees became an immediate problem. This, too, was work that had to be done at once. But while it is being done, planning for the improvement of health conditions in the entire area is under way. The Tennessee Valley Authority is giving attention not only to the conservation of natural resources

and the production of power, but also to the conservation of human resources. Without human resources, natural resources lose their value.

The primary objectives of the Medical Service are physical examination and classification according to physical status of all prospective employees; direct medical care for all employees injured in line of duty; emergency medical care for employees away from their natural residence; assistance in the proper placement of employees with physical handicaps; immunization service for all employees; and control of venereal diseases through a familial approach including prophylaxis, treatment, and education of the employee and his family. In addition, this service assumes responsibility for the compilation and clearing of all compensation claims originating from employees of the Authority. After physical examination and prior to final employment, prospective employees are classified into four groups according to physical fitness for duty, and are then given essential immunization and assigned to service by the Personnel Division. All injuries, even such as appear insignificant, are given immediate first aid and passed on as quickly as possible by a physician at one of the first-aid infirmaries.

The problem of health and sanitation service necessarily includes not only such activity as is necessary within areas directly under the jurisdiction of the Authority and having essentially the status of Government reservations, but also, through coöperative agreement, such activity as can be extended to areas immediately adjacent. Thus, in adjacent areas, conditions reacting upon the health and welfare of employees may be dealt with in the same manner as those occurring within areas under the jurisdiction of the Authority.

The organization of service outside of the areas owned by the Authority must depend, of course, upon coöperative agreements with State and local health agencies, since this is primarily their

responsibility. Hence, a fund has been set aside to become available for strengthening local health services in the major areas of operations, where the activity of the Authority complicates local conditions or where local conditions are such as to result in undue hazard to employees. In two major areas of operations, typhoid epidemics—approximately a hundred cases in one instance and forty cases in the other—have indicated not only the desirability but the actual necessity of such coöperation. Problems relating to food and milk control, general sanitation, and the usual public-health services can best be solved by strengthening rather than duplicating existing facilities.

Unquestionably, as a result of the vastly increased shore line of impounded waters within the drainage basin, malaria will become one of the outstanding problems of the future. Here the same long-range planning, characteristic of the vision of the Authority for the project as a whole, is manifest. This matter has had serious consideration from the time the dams, now in process of construction, were designed. Provision has been made for such fluctuations of reservoir levels as are essential to a maximum degree of biological control.

In addition to the need for coöperative development of control services, both the opportunity and necessity for special researches are apparent. For example, more precise knowledge of the malaria problem and more effective methods for its control are essential. Through and with the coöperation of existing agencies, material advances in the acquisition of new knowledge and methods of applying existing knowledge should be possible. With these facts in mind, provision has been made for such basic studies, both in epidemiological and administrative procedures, as seem desirable for the development of improved methods in dealing with problems incident to or produced by operations of the Authority.

LABOR RELATIONS

The labor-relations program plays a vital part in the general field of social and economic development. The Labor Relations Section of the Personnel Division is primarily responsible for the maintenance of proper individual and collective relations of management and employees, and for making certain that working rules and regulations, as well as established rates of pay and working hours, are fully complied with. It is the duty of this Section to investigate promptly all matters brought to its attention, to take them up with the proper administrative officers, and to secure the best disposition of them. This section also sees to it that employees understand both their rights and their responsibilities with respect to labor organizations. It coöperates with and assists employees in developing and coördinating the various employees' organizations into effective instruments for assisting in achieving the long-time objectives of the Tennessee Valley Authority program.

Prior to employment by the Tennessee Valley Authority, many employees already belonged to their particular trade unions. The Labor Relations representatives assisted these men in arranging for meetings, and through these groups sought to explain the attitude of the Tennessee Valley Authority towards labor and to gain their coöperation in making the Tennessee Valley Authority program successful. All groups then joined forces in organizing a Tennessee Valley Workers Council.

The Council has set down the following as its general purposes:

1. To help carry out more effectively the aims and purposes of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of Congress
2. To adapt bona fide labor organization to changing relationships between producers, management, and consumers in the same spirit in which social and economic planning is being carried out in the Tennessee Valley

3. To do a better job of familiarizing organized workers with the general social and economic purposes of the enterprise
4. To carry on collective representation more efficiently than has been possible heretofore
5. To encourage labor organization to take on more social and economic responsibility

To date the Council has taken up problems such as wage rates, working hours, working conditions, apprenticeship training methods, coöperative enterprises, elimination of waste of time and materials through employee-management coöperation, protection of Tennessee Valley Authority property, adult education, recreational activities, the need for adequate and safe wiring of workers' homes, cultural facilities such as libraries, and the need for socially and technically trained foremanship and management. The Tennessee Valley Workers' Council is in line with the general efforts to build a better industrial society. Its work is one of the most inspiring things being done by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Here is labor, skilled and unskilled, organized and singly, assured of a New Deal, making constructive suggestions and generally coöperating in an effective manner.

EMPLOYEE TRAINING

Just as the labor-relations program, through employee-management coöperation, is designed to improve the lot of the workingman through his own collective and individual effort, so, also, the training program is designed with the same end in view. There is some evidence to indicate that the situation America faces today was brought about in part by a lack of balance between agriculture and industry. The Authority plans, therefore, to assist in bringing about a coördination of agriculture and industry in the rural communities of the Tennessee Valley. To accomplish this, trained leadership is essential; hence, the development of a training program.

In order that the construction work might be carried on eco-

nominically, the employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority were all carefully selected on the basis of merit and efficiency. As a means of spreading employment over as wide a range as possible, a sufficient number of men were employed to enable the construction work on the dam to proceed on a basis of thirty-three hours per week, with four shifts daily of five and one-half hours each. Here were men with much leisure time. Abundant leisure is a problem per se. It seemed advisable, however, to view this problem as an excellent opportunity to develop an employee training program in which workmen could participate on a voluntary basis.

The training, wherever possible, has been set up in connection with service projects. For example, dairying is learned at the dairy that furnishes dairy products for the Norris town and camp; gardening at the gardens that furnish the garden produce; trades at the trades shops that service the equipment; and so on. Training is offered in the various phases of agriculture; in the trades, including work in four shops—automotive, electrical, general metal, and woodworking; and in engineering and other technical training. General training is also offered in social and recreational activities. There is opportunity for both the men and their wives, and for laborers and engineers. The scope of the program is broad and the work is arranged so as to dovetail as closely as possible with the interests of the individual trainee.

As a part of the training program, groups of carefully selected members of the general construction crew at Norris Dam are given an opportunity to gain experience on several phases of the work at the dam, and, through study and instruction, to prepare themselves for various kinds of construction work. Each member of this group rotates from one work crew to another in periods of approximately five weeks. During a year a member of this group will have gained experience and training in approximately ten lines of work. The crews with which these men work are the

following: electricians, carpenters, pipe fitters, riggers, machine shop, track, crusher plant, mixing plant, quarry work, and concrete carrying. This diversified experience gives each man contact with the common types of construction work and prepares him for foremanship either on the present or future construction projects. The program is exploratory, and, along with the plan of rotated employment and study, instruction is given, centering closely around the problems relating to all phases of construction work. Additional courses in related subjects, such as English, mathematics, drawing, and the like, add breadth to the training. The regular course covers such topics as the purpose of a construction project, factors influencing location, economic factors to be considered, method of financing, study of costs, method of construction, design, organization of construction work, selection of employees, planning the job, selecting the materials and equipment, labor relations, safety, surveys, mapping, and special problems. Those who are selected for this group and who complete the work are in line for better opportunities as skilled workers and foremen.

A similar work-study group is being conducted at Wheeler Dam in Alabama. The method followed is somewhat different, however. The men are not placed for any designated period on one type of construction work. A man may be placed with any construction crew for a day, a week, or longer as the need for that type of work exists, or as the foreman indicates that the ability of that particular man is adapted to that particular job. The foreman coöperates very closely with the training supervisor, so that a less satisfactory worker can be transferred on a day's notice to another type of work on which he may prove more suitable. This program is somewhat more flexible than that at Norris and offers greater exploratory possibilities.

Coöperative relations have been worked out with several colleges in the Valley, so that fifteen pairs of students are partici-

pating in a work-study group which combines part-time work with part-time study in college, through alternating periods of employment and study. This gives practical experience to these potential engineers, and furnishes some stimulation to men on the construction job to participate in the general training program.

One of the most interesting and in many respects best integrated aspects of the training program is the Negro training project being conducted at Wheeler Dam. The Negro dormitories have been organized into a very compact unit, socially, under a plan of self-government. Instruction is given in those aspects of homemaking that will prove of most value when the construction job is completed and the men return to their communities. They are being taught bricklaying and other types of masonry, paper hanging, plastering, carpentry, and other building-construction skills.

At present the men are making willow furniture for their homes on their own time and with their own materials, while the women are being trained to develop a form of art which will depict various phases of Negro life. The designs are modernistic and will be embodied in the weaving of rugs, quilts, and tapestries. Other traditional home industries are being fostered. In this manner the lost handicrafts will be regained and given new life through the appeal of modern design. In time it is hoped that the Negro will evolve his own culture and tradition around these arts and crafts.

At present, the recreational activities in this camp are very similar to those in progress at the white camp, although the response is more spontaneous, especially along musical and dramatic lines.

The general educational activities for Negroes include reading, writing, and arithmetic, taught in an effective and practical manner so as to function immediately. The men are taught such

additional mathematics as is needed to enable them to make measurements and to estimate and compute crops and prices.

In addition to the program described above, the Tennessee Valley Workers' Council has on its own initiative developed a broad program of workers' education that includes forums and discussions dealing with social and economic problems.

CONCLUSION

In so brief an article, it is not possible to give a detailed account of the work carried on in connection with the Tennessee Valley Authority. Only a few examples have been cited. They serve to illustrate the conception underlying the program. The New Deal cannot succeed unless the people are prepared to live in it, for it is essentially a new way of life.

SOME FACTORS INFLUENCING THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY

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THE COMING CONFLICT

That psychological factors are of great significance in the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority program has been recognized by a number of observers. Two illustrations will serve to state the problem. Walter Davenport¹ reports the conversation of a judge with whom he discussed the coming of the TVA, presenting the situation in this picturesque style—

But don't let any of these lawyers and engineers fill you up so full of law and figures that you forget the facts. You can dam all the rivers and creeks from here to Canada and knock down the cost of electricity until no honest God-fearing man would be caught without it, but if the people ain't with you, you're just wasting your time and money.

In closing a series of articles on the TVA, Paul Hutchinson describes his impressions in setting the individualism of the Valley against the social planning of the Authority.² The first issue, he observes, in the development

is the local issue between the planning of the TVA and the individualism of the Valley inhabitants. The rural dweller everywhere is traditionally an individualist, but it is doubtful whether the United States knows another individualist quite as fierce in his individualism as the hill-dweller of the Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina watersheds or the cotton farmer of the Alabama and Mississippi bottoms.

Mr. Hutchinson goes on to point out the nature of the governmental activities that will serve to oppose these traits, particu-

¹ "There'll Be Shouting in the Valley," *Collier's Weekly*, June 30, 1934.

² "What Will the T.V.A. Do to the U.S.A.?" Three articles in *The Christian Century*, April 11, 18, 25, 1934. Article III, "The Battle in the Tennessee Valley," April 25, 1934.

larly as the projects call for the relocation of populations, living according to TVA patterns of life, to the position, quoting from A. E. Morgan, where "a man has no natural right to inherit good land and pass on a waste of gullied hillsides to those who come after him. We are not complete owners of the soil, but only trustees for a generation." Here Mr. Hutchinson states the issue:

This whole idea of relocating a population with regional plans worked out in some central control station, plus this readiness to avow the principle of limiting land ownership in accordance with land use throws down the gage of battle to precisely the kind of sturdy individualism which, from the days of Jefferson down, we have been assured is the bulwark of the republic. . . . I named this first, not because I believe it to be the most desperate struggle that is coming in the Tennessee Valley, but it is the one nearest at hand and for which, I could not help feeling, the TVA is making least preparation.

This discussion will concern itself not with the struggle, but with the patterns and traits that tend to characterize the inhabitants of the Tennessee Valley.

GENERALIZATIONS

The characteristics of the people have been described in history and fiction until every American has access to some notion, correct or incorrect, of the people under consideration. If one does not read, the radio and motion picture present the music and drawl of the hillbilly, and gossip spreads popular impressions. To correct this current misrepresentation of the South, Lewis Mumford Jones has written a ridiculously caustic defense under the title "The Southern Legend."⁸

In the mountains to the rear, the simple highlanders converse among themselves in sentences impartially compounded of "hit," "you-uns," and "tote," a vocabulary which they find sufficient for all ideas. The cultivation of four rows of corn supplies their needs, and their babies cry out for moonshine as soon as they are born. By day their chief occupation is to sit; by night they sleep in a bed, though they will

⁸ *Scribner's*, May 1929.

promptly vacate the bed on the approach of a "furriner," and migrate to the floor, which they prefer.

They wear nothing but sunbonnets and blue jeans, none of them has ever seen a train, and in intervals of singing "ballets," they ejaculate from time to time, "Yeh ain't done right by our little Nell," and immediately shoot everybody in sight with a rifle which saw service at King's Mountain . . . dancing all night to the music of a mountain fiddle, and spitting all day.

For those reared on more academic discussions by Henry Adams, or Turner, or the Beards, we have a historic pattern that accounts for the types drawn by the popular descriptions. After describing the frontier movements the Beards⁴ summarize the traits as follows:

Although travelers into the pioneer West disagreed on many points they were almost unanimous in enumerating the outstanding characteristics of the frontier people; independence of action; directness of manner, want of deference for ceremony, willingness to make acquaintance with all sorts and conditions of mankind, a rough and ready license of speech with a corresponding touchiness of temper in the presence of real or fancied insults.

Such a summary is obviously, like the minister's text, a point of departure. One might indulge in some clever writing to show how far it "ain't so," or mass together illustrations to demonstrate the truth of the penetrating observations resting on keen historical insight. But the point of this discussion so far is to call attention to the dangers of generalizing in a situation that calls for analysis. It is dramatic for Eddie Cantor to have his hillbilly better informed than himself, and more successful, and there is pathos in the isolated child deprived of educational opportunity winning our sympathy by her appeal. Whatever generalization can be made will rest upon a basic humanity. Human beings have been moved, formed, inspired, repressed, motivated by the complex events that have surged in and about the Valley. To under-

⁴ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 535.

stand these it will be necessary to examine some of the traits that emerge from these historic movements.

1. *The Frontier.* First in influence is the effect of pioneer days. All up and down the Valley may be found physical landmarks of the early settlers. While the conditions that the pioneers faced have been changed, and the modern residents have in many ways moved on with the time, we still find those who like the judge talking with Davenport, saying, "Well, sir, most of the things that have been done in the Tennessee Valley before this were done by folks living here, which is one reason why we're pretty much the same today as we were when I was a boy and Grant was President." The following description from Turner⁵ would be regarded as a caricature, but none the less sketches a type whose influence is still felt today.

Of this frontier democracy which now took possession of the nation, Andrew Jackson was the very personification. . . . This six-foot backwoodsman, with blue eyes that could blaze on occasion, this choleric, impetuous, self-willed Scotch-Irish leader of men, this expert duelist, and ready fighter, this embodiment of the tenacious, vehement, personal West, was in politics to stay. The frontier democracy of that time had the instincts of the clansman in the days of Scotch border warfare. Vehement and tenacious as the democracy was, strenuously as each man contended with his neighbor for the spoils of the new country that opened before them, they all had respect for the man who best expressed their ideas.

The pioneer spirit led to further migration. Not only has Tennessee been represented by the Davy Crockets and Sam Houston in the southwest but succeeding generations have gone to the northwest. A Tennessean, returned from the State of Washington, reports four hundred Tennesseans living in the western community who used to meet at occasional gatherings.

2. *Religion.* A student whose whole life has been spent in the Tennessee mountains records this as the first characteristic of his

⁵ Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921), pp. 252-253.

people: "very religious, great respect for religious leaders, reverent attitude, though often dogmatic. They take the Bible literally, are mystical, and sometimes superstitious." André Siegfried⁶ quotes the judge at the Dayton trial as instructing the out-of-State lawyers: "I find it necessary to advise you, in order to govern your conduct, that this is a God-fearing country." So the Bob Jones College, "coeducational, interdenominational, and orthodox," moved from Florida to the Tennessee Valley to be in its "natural environment." "Dr. Bob," as the students call their president, sponsors more than one hundred evangelistic campaigns every year. He is president of the National Association of Gospel Centers, edits a weekly paper, the *Fellowship News*, and broadcasts daily over a number of radio stations." An appreciation of these qualities, Davenport's judge observes, eases the adjustment in moving cemeteries from the Clinch River Valley, "and not a spade hits the earth till the family's satisfied and all present with a preacher saying the prayer. The history of these hills is on those gravestones, mister."

The outsider is likely to make the mistake of identifying this type of orthodoxy with the fundamentalism of a Machen who defied Princeton Theological Seminary, or the late I. M. Halderman, or the still later John Roach Stratton. Such is not the case, however. The Valley produces a kindlier, more receptive type of theology, fundamental because it is traditional. It is not at all uncommon to find ministers of conservative circles reading modern, liberal papers and books, and, to quote John Dewey, "lapping it up."

3. *Sectionalism.* The Tennessee Valley lies south of the Mason-Dixon line. The inhabitants of most of the Valley are related to those who fought with the Confederacy. Consequently it is common to hear references to "our own Southern boys," or

⁶ *America Comes of Age* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927), x + 358 pages.

to have comparisons made to the Confederacy as a common heritage. The number of times the tale of "My grandfather did not know that 'dam-yank' was two words" is repeated testifies to the extent of the sentiment.

It is natural to observe that the New Englander, or Bostonian, who talks of America, or the United States, when he means his own New England is quite as provincial as the Southerner who frankly defines his loyalty in referring to the South. The fact remains that a complex often lingers over "the lost cause" that is more compelling and emotionally more significant than the provincialism or conceit of a New Englander or a Boston or New York urbanite.

Mixed motives such as suspicion of the motives of the TVA and sectional antipathy are sometimes expressed. Such a protest as the following from a Florence, Alabama, editor, Mr. Marcy B. Darnell, seems to reflect a resentment against outside interference—sentiment not at all limited to the South. In criticizing a publicity booklet of the TVA, Mr. Darnell writes:

On page 6, the question, What are the main objectives of the development? is thus answered: The planned social-economic development of the Tennessee Valley. Now who in heck ever asked the government to plan our social development? Who wants a lot of northern and eastern missionaries to minister to us heathen, anyway?

Lest one leave the subject with the impression that such expressions are confined to those south of the Mason-Dixon line, the criticism of the TVA activities from Republican Representative Taber of New York may not be out of place, for he too objects to the attempt "to teach the natives how to live; to brush their teeth; how to do their cooking and all that sort of thing."⁷

4. *Subsectionalism.* Apart from the consciousness of the common cause attributed to the devastating war which terminated in 1864 will be found a whole hierarchy of loyalties that influence

⁷ United Press, March 2, 1934.

thought and conduct. State loyalties provide identity with one set of interests; sectional attachments another. Characteristic of these divisions is the East, Central, and West sectioning of Tennessee. A comprehensive study of the southern areas, such as that of Rupert Vance's *Human Geography of the South*,⁸ will give detailed information on the factors influencing the people in these areas. When one hears appeals to recognize the difference between upper, middle, and lower east Tennessee the consciousness of subloyalties seems to be strained. While much of this may be explained in terms of the activities of the politicians, sectional ties serve to bolster up the parties quite as effectively as the parties utilize local loyalties.

5. *Mountain-Valley Conflict.* Let no one make the mistake of assuming that all of the people who live in the Valley are "mountaineers"! While it is not uncommon for a group in the Valley to send a message as was reported in the morning paper from "us mountain whites," Huey Long would hardly dare return the reference to "you mountain whites." Such expressions as "You can take the people out of the mountain, but you can't take the mountain out of the people" is expressive of a cultural conflict that exists between the mountain valley of the more prosperous areas in contrast with the more isolated, less favored residents of the "coves."

6. *Farm Owner-Tenant Conflict.* Another factor in the situation may be found in the difference in outlook and cultural opportunity between farm owner and tenants, or share croppers. The student of economics and sociology has a serious problem in this situation. However involved and varied its expression, for owners may range from huge plantations to those just owning a plot, the consequences of the extreme cases, particularly in the cotton areas, is serious enough to warrant a major research on the trends and ultimate effect on American life.

⁸ Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932, xiv + 596 pages.

7. *Urban-Rural Conflict.* While Tennessee has historically been an agricultural State, the trend towards urbanization is very marked as was noted in the recent report of the Tennessee Educational Commission. The most conspicuous division to the educator appears in counties where a city school system is set up independent of the county. Merchants and others who deal with those who come to the city are soon aware of the countryman's suspicion of city folk and the aloofness of many urbanites.

8. *Party Loyalties.* Political alignments are historic and highly personal. Old residents in upper East Tennessee where the tradition follows Andrew Johnson and the Union, and consequently is Republican, will point out families that were with the Confederacy and have been Democratic ever since. Selections for office and appeals for votes are usually on personal pleas, and gather about the personal integrity of the candidate. One looks in vain for any fundamental conception of political philosophy that will distinguish one party from the other. While great heat may be shown in the political campaigning the issues move about the honesty, economy, and worth of the individual candidate. The existence of other parties than the Democratic and Republican is hardly to be noted.

9. *Capital-Labor Conflict.* Class consciousness, Marxian philosophy of the economic struggle, and such patterns as those circulated in the I. W. W. and other labor groups have so far made progress among the people in industrial areas. The Harriman strikes of the past summer and the Harlan and Pineville upheaval evidence the preliminary skirmishes. To the general public, however, one senses a resentment at it all. The philosophy of class conflict is still a foreign intrusion in a group with atheism, socialism, bolshevism, pacifism, anarchy, and all the other heterodoxies—religious, political, and philosophical. Its most subtle influence is to be detected in the work of the utilities who through existing offices and distantly related interests have supplied the

press with "news," editorials, and visits. The "power of talk about carpetbaggers," and, probably more than news, the deadly silence about the significance of the TVA to the communities from papers that carry utility advertisements support the prophecy which Paul Hutchinson makes that this will be one phase of the "coming conflict."

10. *Racial Conflict.* The same geographic location which influences the sectional consciousness serves to shape the pattern of thought in race relations. Expressions heavily weighted with emotional connotation provide the setting. "Social equality," "know their place," and such phrases are felt and not described. This situation rests on the myth of "The Big House" which would leave the present generation with the impression that all white folks descended from the Mansion House and the Negroes were all slaves. Such a letter as Will Rogers recently received and published with gentle comments carries on the tradition of the "Old South" where all white folks are gentle and refined, "where Negroes kept, and still do, their places as servants, respectful and obedient, never appearing in public except in caps and aprons (in other words uniforms)." W. W. Alexander of the Interracial Commission in Atlanta has studied the facts of this period and has traced the revolutionary changes that have followed the period of emancipation and reconstruction. The plantation aristocracy has been removed from political power, and the poorer white population has become articulate.

The operations of the K. K. K. are not entirely racial. André Siegfried says, "It is more than a secret society; it is a state of mind. It is more than a whim; it is the revival of a whole series of earlier revolts against Negroes, catholics, and outsiders generally." This organization which was started in Tennessee is expressive of one form of direct action rooted in the fear that the dominant position of the white group may not be held.

The readiness of the South to accept its own decisions and

object to outside meddling is indicated by an editorial from a Memphis paper copied in the Valley with approval.

By this time it would seem that those who have gone to such pains to defeat justice in Alabama would be convinced that the first verdict in the Scottsboro case was correct.

But for the meddlesome interference of agencies outside the State the case of the seven Scottsboro defendants would have been disposed of in the usual manner long ago.

Wide differences of opinion exist in different areas and in the same communities. On the whole the Negro caste lives in a world apart carrying on its life and cultural interests independent of the white world. Whereas the economic factors lead the Negro to have access to the ideas and activities of the white world there is little or no shift of ideas from Negro to white. "They know their place."

11. *Nationalism.* André Siegfried gives much attention to the antiforeign impulses. It is not difficult to find illustrations of such sentiment, as for example an editorial calling attention to the number of "foreigners" who are running for office in New York, or comments implying a relationship between crime and the "foreign element." The nationalism Siegfried observes is "traditional Protestant orthodoxy with an innate horror of anything foreign." On the whole the feeling can be traced to lack of intercourse with other national cultural groups. Even this loyalty does not keep the southern churches from contributing to foreign missions.

12. *Individualism.* This might be called *individual integrity*. Human qualities express themselves in many relationships, especially in the virtues. A young judge in commenting on the ease with which he could settle his cases in the mountains commented, "You see, these people have not learned to lie." A student characterizes the people as he has known them from the Smokies as "Great believers in 'honesty is the best policy,' " very

much opposed to gambling, cheating, or anything which has to do with dishonesty.

Another trait linked with individual integrity leads to the trust of fellowmen. "Some have lost their lifetime earnings by trusting some one from outside who was an unfair dealer. Several such cases have taught them to deal in a more businesslike manner."

Similarly, this personal worth finds expression in the family life. "Great honor and respect for parents, family relations, though they are not as free to express themselves as other people are," writes our observer. Another, a social scientist, calls attention to the conception of "good" which parents hold of a boy who would not leave home or expose himself to the temptation of cities.

Other traits might be listed or additional illustrations that characterize the situation. Two rather striking incidents serve as cases to serve as warning to those who would deal with a very explosive situation. The first came about through a letter from a C.C.C. Camp to the family home in Idaho. A camp officer by the name of Weaver wrote of homes he had visited. The letter was sent to a Spokane paper and was subsequently copied in the *Knoxville Journal*. Readers were roused by his generalizations and straightway assured him that some homes did not have beds in the front room, and other arrangements differed from those he had observed where had been entertained. So much feeling was aroused by the letter that he was recalled to Idaho.

The other occurred among the people being moved from the Valley to be submerged by the water above the dam. Publicity was given to proposals to form a colony in Brazil for those who were forced to leave the Clinch River Valley.

TRANSITION

In conclusion, the fundamental unity of personality ought to be emphasized. It is true that the influences listed may be dis-

covered to have exerted themselves in forming the thought patterns and in shaping the personalities that constitute the residents of the Tennessee Valley. Yet the impression of similarity rather than difference lingers. Teachers have commented on the experience of meeting a line of students at a college reception. By first impression it is impossible to distinguish students from the Tennessee Valley from those who come from Ohio, New York, New Jersey, or other States. Furthermore, there will be among the readers of this journal those who are by birth and training and cultural associations from this area. Yet they are like the others of the professional outlook and experience, beyond the limitations of any restricting historical events that might dominate their cultural outlook.

This fact of transition and change which has been going on continually in the Tennessee Valley makes it necessary to caution the reader not to take any of the factors listed too seriously. There is rising a generation of youth which more and more tends to look the past in the face and calmly and objectively examine the forces that have influenced the present scene. Once having acquired an understanding they tend to join with those who plan to build "The South of Tomorrow." Such has been the theme of several student conferences. And one detects an optimism and hope for the future which promises emancipation from historic accidents and mastery of these factors that might otherwise form the dominant traits of the coming generation.

TVA AND THE THREE R'S

EDWARD ALLAN WOODS

Education is cropping up in the land of the Tennessee Valley Authority—just here and there and in a very disjointed manner—but educational forces *are* at work. As yet there doesn't appear to be much order or plan. In fact, the most important of the educational forces now at work in the Valley of the TVA are those arising from the impact upon an old order of a far-flung governmental experiment in the planned use of a region. The educational results of this impact upon the life of the Tennessee Valley have been far more potent than even the gentlemen of the TVA now appreciate. And, thus far, it is the chief educational result of this socialized program.

About a year ago, when the Tennessee Valley Authority was but a few months old, there was a great deal of talk about "the planned use of an entire region's resources." At that time the newspaper reports and popular discussions centered about the program as a whole—much more so than they have this year. Within the year and a half that TVA has been operating, two branches of the plan have stood out in vastly greater prominence than all of the rest. They are closely interrelated—the construction program and the power program. The construction program—the building of the huge dams at Norris and Wheeler—has supplied the drama. The promise of "cheap electricity" has been the selling point.

Unquestionably these two phases of TVA have been the most educative of all the activities in the Valley. They have become real experiences to thousands of Valley residents. They are tangible facts, far from the mists of theory. And yet if you told any of the thousands at work in TVA that these are the foremost educational results, you would probably be laughed at.

You would be laughed at, we believe, because somewhere in

the mills of TVA there is supposed to be an "educational program." It is the "educational program" that will be put to work, eventually, within the schoolrooms, within the coöperatives that TVA is encouraging. It is the conventional "education" which is to result from TVA. We still insist, however, that the real educative results are being obtained not from any designed plan of education, but from the drama of construction, from the promise of power.

It is difficult to forecast how long the truly educative work of the Authority will be left to hit and miss effects. For the most part, it is now hit and miss. The exceptions are the plans for a school at TVA model town of Norris, near Norris Dam, and the educational program in connection with the Tennessee Valley coöperatives. The educational responsibility of the Authority is far broader, as we see it, than a school at Norris or the encouraging of folk crafts among rural coöperatives. The educational responsibility of the Authority is to make the experience of a regional development, based on social desirability rather than private profit, real to the people of the region. It is this educational development which, as we see it, is being left to "just grow." It is true, however, that there are indications of an awakening within TVA which may bring about an educational program in the round. It may be that TVA is on the verge of recognizing its true educational responsibilities.

From the very outset, critics of the whole TVA venture have asserted with sometimes vicious vigor that there was no need to develop power production where people as a whole were too poor to buy the resultant electricity. When TVA began operating its appliance subsidiary, the Electric Home and Farm Authority, these same critics declared that the Government had picked the nation's worst market area for the launching of an appliance merchandising program.

In a wider sense, it may be said with equal frankness that the

TVA is operating in a mighty poor educational market. The Tennessee Valley is certainly no hotbed of socialism—or of realistic thinking. Thus the educational job is about as difficult as the job of getting rid of the power or of distributing the low-cost electric appliances. Perhaps it is ten times as difficult as those two tasks. It may be that this explains in a large measure the cautiousness TVA has displayed in approaching the job.

The area in which TVA operates has cotton, tobacco, coal, iron, and a fine plant of the monopolistic American Aluminum Company. It has share croppers, tenant farmers, poll taxes, justices of the peace—and Bilbo. It has thousands of fundamentalist churches, and a Bob Jones College ("what the Bible says is, is"). It has mountain areas of extreme remoteness, and a State wherein one half the population is Negro. It has rivers, floods, and political machines that make Tammany look like a pink tea. It has taboos as powerful as the flow of the Mississippi River. It has lynchings. It has Scottsboro and Dayton. It is an area of harsh commercialism, demoralizing peonage. It has areas of brutality, where life is cheaper than almost anything else.

But it is a region of incurable romanticism. Withal, it is a land with a great and glorious future, where even today the forces may be generating which will make it the dominant section of the United States within the next half century.

That is the Valley of the TVA. That is the setting for an experiment which strikes at the very roots of the society in which it has been hatched—hatched out by the incubational heat of a senator from Nebraska and a presidential squire from New York. And the educational implication of TVA is this:

You of the Tennessee Valley region are living today as you are not going to be living twenty-five years hence. Your lives are going to be changed, first of all by electricity. Then you will be changed by the responsibilities of operating the institution which brings you this electricity. This will make you coöperative where you are now competitive; forward-looking where now you stand upon the traditions of a musty past; free

where you are now enslaved by a brutal land economy; hopeful of your future in this world where now your only hope lies in an unknown, unseen beyond.

This implication of the Tennessee Valley Authority's undertaking is not voiced out loud in the Valley. By the very nature of the program, it cannot be. Outlines of final objectives are always an embarrassment to their achievement, because men do not fancy looking too far into the shadows of the future. Declaration of end results, moreover, is dangerous, because there are so many pitfalls between statement and attainment. So, for the most part, TVA speaks of the future in terms of physical improvement—in terms of better homes, better land use, “a richer life”—without saying what is likely to happen to the minds of men in bringing about the change. It is the safer course, and perhaps the course of wisdom. To say that TVA soft-pedals sociological objectives is not to criticize the Authority.

There is an enormously important difference, however, between a hush-hush policy on ultimate objectives and a dodging of those implications altogether. There may be no desire on the part of the Authority to escape its educational responsibilities, and those of us who are living alongside of TVA here in the Valley have high hopes that these responsibilities will be met with that same forthrightness and effectiveness which have marked the almost spectacular progress of the construction and power programs. Even at this time, indeed, there are indications throughout the Valley that TVA to survive and function fully must more and more grapple with the educational necessities inherent in achieving its dream of an intelligent region. And it is not our belief that TVA is blind to the significance of the warfare now raging against its plans.

The fight on TVA is headed up by the electric utilities which face the competition of the Authority's low domestic rate schedules, ably assisted by the coal-mining interests which fear the

further development of hydrogenerated electricity. These two formidable foes are now out to obstruct TVA with every weapon at their command—the courts, State commissions now “regulating” utilities, friendly newspapers, able pamphleteers, bellowing politicians, and office-seekers. Every new step TVA takes towards acquiring its legitimate—and vitally necessary—power market will be obstructed at each stage. If the TVA can be denied a market in which to sell its electricity, it will have been murdered in its swaddling clothes. The TVA’s enemies know this, and TVA knows that they know.

Just as a people must be educated to the use of electricity—the wide and full use made possible by dramatically low rates—so they must be educated to support a program which means so much to their lives, to their intimate home lives. Without strong public support, TVA stands to perish before it has begun to operate. Without strong public support for the program, the puppets in State and local offices throughout the Valley will be free to do the bidding of TVA’s enemies. The gaining of that support of Mr. and Mrs. John Citizen is a big educational job. There are signs that TVA is, for the first time, becoming aware of the size of the task. That is why we said in the beginning that education is cropping up in the land of the TVA.

What are the indications? Without any logical or chronological order, we present certain activities which may be said to be educative. Again we omit mention of the schoolish activities at Norris and the work with the coöperatives through the Tennessee Valley Associated Coöperatives (an organization sponsored by TVA). We list here only those typical activities of the program which reach out to all the people, and which have been the result of plans evolved, apparently, without reference to conventional schoolmen. Here they are:

The publicity efforts of TVA in making the Authority’s position clear in regard to its purchase of privately owned electric properties (primarily

the purchase of the Knoxville and the Commonwealth and Southern properties in Alabama and Tennessee). Lesson: that government competition is fair; that it is to the advantage of the people that electric utilities be managed and controlled by the people. Encouragement of visitors to construction projects and the completed hydro-electric plant at Muscle Shoals; the supplying of college students as guides during the summer-tourist season; the distribution of literature at these points (52,145 visitors registered at these places in August this year). Lesson: that huge construction jobs are dramatic, fascinating; that man, through his government, can work enormous changes in nature.

Stimulation of use of electricity in the home and on the farm, chiefly through public demonstrations; a permanent showroom and exhibit at Chattanooga; a truck which travels through TVA territory carrying an electric kitchen for demonstrations in rural areas; encouraging courses in Southern land-grant colleges to deal with home uses of electricity; the whole promotional program of Electric Home and Farm Authority. Lesson: that electricity, made cheaper by impact of a governmental agency, is an instrument of change—change for the better, for a fuller life.

Soil-erosion control work. Lesson: that forces of nature do not respect fences or property lines; that farmers have to work coöperatively to prevent nature from robbing them of their soil.

All the speeches of the directors and their subexecutives. Lessons: many, but all teach the value of coöperation, of public operation of a program such as TVA's, of planning to avoid the wastes of this present civilization.

We have listed a few of the outstanding phases of the TVA program which appear to be most educative. They are listed merely as examples rather than as a comprehensive picture. They are listed to make clear our point that TVA is educative today by action rather than by design.

In spite of the enthusiastic phrase-makers of the latter part of the era which came to a close with the downfall of the 1920's, there never has been any real cultural development below the Mason-Dixon line which could be called the "New South." There were certain industrial developments—such as steel and textiles and petroleum—which changed the face of some sections. Perhaps the South responded a little to the boom-boom of construction in the North, to the good roads, bigger school

activities. And some cities, like Memphis, nearly doubled in population because of expanding trade and traffic. But the South remained lashed to an older century and was not spiritually "new."

The TVA is the first "newness" in the South since its land economy was horribly wrenched by the ending of legal slavery. Thus far in its course of progress, TVA has been a money-spending newness. This fact has given it a wide popular acceptance. Also, TVA brought about another pocketbook result, the lowering of costs for electricity in homes and factories. This has been so attractive that many who would otherwise oppose it have winked at its implied socialism, its inherent "newness." But in spite of these powerful advantages (and not even TVA's blindest enemies underestimate their powerfulness), the old South still holds its firm grip upon those instrumentalities of democracy through which the Tennessee Valley Authority must function if it is to grow, to succeed, to fulfill its obligation to the law creating it.

Will the grip of the old be permitted to stifle the new? That appears to be the major question before educators both in and out of TVA. As one of the South's principal forces, education by schoolmen faces the necessity of making a choice. Will it accept the new South TVA inescapably means? Or will there be hostility or indifference? Answers to these questions are still below present horizons. They are not to be found in the lip-service the educational machines are now bestowing upon TVA. The current phase is one of suspended judgment. In a way, it is a truce. If some of the TVA largess splashes over into educational coffers, the truce may continue for several years. Meanwhile, TVA's education-by-action will continue, neither aided nor hindered by the schoolmen. But they still must make the choice, ultimately.

There can be acceptance. "The Three R's" can be given a new vision and reality. The unquestioned strength of the South can be

freed to rise up, slowly, year by year, in the creation of a new land, a new order of living.

There can be denial. The schoolroom can continue along its dull, drab path of unreality. And the religious, political, and economic fundamentalism of the South will triumph over TVA. *Its death will begin in the schoolroom.*

President Roosevelt's program for the Tennessee Valley is a bold plan born of courageous leadership. Its educational implications are a direct challenge to the men of TVA and the schoolmen of the Valley. In their essence, these implications also challenge schoolmen everywhere. The texts need to be written, the laboratories designed. But first of all there must be courage.

THE BUILDING OF THE CITY

JOSEPH K. HART

The enormous weight of "vested rights" maintained by the "old order" has been brought to bear in the desperate efforts that have been made to discredit the program of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Nothing good, it has been claimed, could come of any such fantastic experiment, and unnumbered evils must flow from it: such attempts at "governmental interference with the orderly flow of natural business" were bound to end in intolerable paternalism, if they were successful, and in an equally intolerable waste of public funds, together with the at least temporary ruin of important public utilities, if they failed, as it was almost certain they would do; millions of public funds were to be mulcted from the rest of the country in order to give these Tennessee mountaineers electric lights which they did not want, and electric power for which they had no possible use. Oceans of crocodile tears have been shed for the "rugged individualists" who were being driven out of house and home and who were making "the last stand for freedom," back in these hills. Publicity financed by electric light and power concerns has waxed eloquent over the right of these mountaineers to go without light and power, if they wanted to!

The published plans of the Authority were described, variously, as a set of blueprints made either in Yellow Springs, Ohio, or in Washington, D. C., and intended as rigid patterns to be imposed upon the "simple mountain folk" of the Tennessee basin; or as the expensive playthings of radical politicians who, after they had wasted millions—all for the selfish purpose of dramatizing themselves as "friends of the dear common people"—would discard the whole enterprise, and take up some new plaything; or as an insidious plan for bribing the South to remain loyal to the Democratic party, at the expense of the long-suffer-

ing North and East and West; or even as a sinister movement to overturn all the "time-honored principles of Americanism" and to set up a socialistic, even a communistic, order on this free continent. When nothing else was at hand, the critics of the program were able to describe the whole project as a "silly plan to teach folk-dancing and basket-weaving" at the expense of the nation to people who had known how to do these things for generations!

What are the facts? Let's begin at the beginning. The Act of Congress creating the Valley project hedged the Authority about with definite restrictions, thus giving it a *freedom of action* no governmental agency had ever known before. Long experience with the doctrine—of which our most rugged individualists seem to be very proud—that any attempt on the part of government to carry on a business enterprise must end either in corruption or inefficiency, or both, seems to have determined the authors of this Act to establish an agency which should be as free as any private corporation to do the work assigned to it. Hence, the Act specifically provides that the three members of the Authority shall be persons who "profess a belief in the feasibility and wisdom of this Act," and who shall have no "interest in any business that will be adversely affected by the success of the Corporation." These two provisions are for the purpose of trying to make sure that there will be no sabotage on the job by the men directly in charge of the whole undertaking—a difficulty not unknown in former attempts by government to carry on extensive programs in competition with private business. It is further provided in the Act that "no political test or qualification shall be permitted or given consideration" in dealing with employees; and, further, that the "provisions of the civil-service laws applicable to officers and employees of the United States" are annulled within the province of this Valley Authority. These two provisions safeguard the project from those twin evils of business and government; namely, political favoritism and bureaucratic indolence.

In short, then, here is an instrument of our government, that is, of our common life, that is as nearly as may be like our much praised private corporations; the directors believe in what they are doing; they want to do it; they are free to do it efficiently and without interference; and their personal financial interests lie in doing it well. They have no obligations to the politicians—by express mandate of the politicians, themselves, who passed the Act; they can hire and fire employees, at will, as the needs of the job may dictate. For the first time in our history, we have, here, a public agency that is as free as any private corporation to do an efficient job. Most of the politicians have found this fact out, by now.

What are the duties of this Authority? The Act prescribes them: flood waters on the Tennessee River are to be controlled; the river is to be improved for transportation purposes; erosion of soils in the Valley is to be stopped, as much as may be; marginal farm lands are to be returned to the forest, and the forest areas of the region are to be largely increased on lands unfit for agriculture; power is to be developed, distributed, and sold; and, in general, "an orderly and proper physical, economic, and social development of the said areas" is to be sedulously fostered. The Valley Authority did not originate this program; it is a mandate from Congress—and the United States!

The basic factor here, even though it is not mentioned in the *title* of the Act, is the development and distribution of *power*; all else provided for revolves about *power*. Power gives the Act its teeth, for power is something *real*. Whatever happens in the Valley will happen because of power! To this extent, at least, the whole program can be interpreted economically or materialistically.

It is, therefore, not an accident that the Act of Congress calls upon the Valley Authority to pay special attention to the "economic and social well-being of the people living in the said river

basin." For power will, probably, bring industrial changes to the Valley, and industrial change always affects every other aspect of social life; power will eventually produce repercussions in every remote cove in the whole area.

In the past, in almost all construction projects handled by private agencies and finances, those incidental effects have largely been ignored by the entrepreneurs; they have been allowed to "work out naturally," even though this naturalness meant ruin, or even death, to many; or they have been regarded as the perquisites of whatever private interest could seize upon them and exploit them; and, always, where the carcass is, there will the vultures be gathered.

But, now, here is something new under the sun; here, in this Valley program the "social and economic well-being of the people" is definitely made part of the program. Rather, it is made the prime objective of the program from the first, and the largest responsibility of the Authority—as the trustee of the future destiny of the Valley. The Valley Authority was not slow to accept this large responsibility. This objective has motivated the plans adopted and being put into actual form in the Valley.

How do all these elements in the mandate of Congress tie in together? A concrete answer to this question can be found in keeping close to the basic element, the development of power, and the constructions undertaken for this purpose. We begin at Norris Dam, the center of the construction program. This is an enormous work, requiring nearly three years for its completion. The site of the dam is some twenty-five miles from Knoxville in a rugged hill country. Roads must be built; the grounds must be cleared; the area to be inundated must be "logged off"; the surrounding wilderness must be given bounds. Thousands of workers have come from everywhere, for they have been of all levels of skill, from the most famous engineers to the most obscure day laborers; they come from farms and villages and

cities, from the mountains and the plains. Many of them have families; most of them are unattached. Where shall they or where do they live while they are engaged in this public enterprise? This is the first question in the program of "social and economic welfare of the people of the area."

Here are enough men—and families—to make a city of several thousand people. A city is another real fact—here inseparably connected with power. Shall the Authority build a city out here in the wilderness? And if so what sort of city shall it be?

In most of our American large-scale constructions, and the land is dotted with such works, the contractors—private firms—have had little thought for the welfare or convenience of the workers beyond what could be provided in the most squalid of "construction camps." These camps have been eyesores on the landscape, physically; and they have been, in general, degrading and demoralizing centers, socially. They have offered little but bunks for the workers to sleep in and a "mess hall" where they could bolt their "grub." Everything around them has been sordid and mean beyond words. The one redeeming feature in the whole set-up has been the work on the job; and the one endurable fact about them has been that they were to be temporary. Even so, after the construction has been finished and the camp has been deserted, its obscene remains still lie there as a blotch on the earth until an apologetic nature covers the ugliness with grass and trees. Even then, and probably for years afterward, tumble-down shacks and broken machineries extruding from the soil remain to tell the endlessly repeated story of noble engineering works erected by workers many of whom were degraded by these very "processes of advancing civilization"!

The Valley Authority decided not to permit that sort of thing to happen at Norris Dam. The construction army gathered here does not live in a typical "construction camp." It lives in what will be a modern city, the most modern of all our cities. The

TVA is building, not for the moment, but for all the future. This Norris Dam is a reality—in a world of real things. But men, women, and children are realities, too. They gather here in the Valley because work is here, and work means livelihood and life. These men, women, and children are permanently affected, one way or another, by being here in the Valley. They are as real as the earth; they are making the earth over, for human uses, and the work they are doing is making *them* over, as well. They will be subjected to two or three years of inescapable education—during the course of this construction, even if they stay here no longer—and they will emerge from these years either as more civilized, or as less civilized, human beings. This, too, is hard reality, inescapable fact!

The Act of Congress providing for this Valley development declares that everything must be done “for the social welfare of the people of the Valley.” The men who labor on this Dam—with their families—certainly come under this provision, and are the first charge against the undertaking. Hence, the building of the Dam must be made to further the social welfare of the men who carry on the work, and their wives and children. These must be provided with the physical conditions necessary to a good, human life. The old time “construction camp” is outlawed.

Moreover, it is certain that there will always be a community here at the Dam. A city must be built, not alone for these workers, but for the future. What sort of city? We do not know too much about how to build cities, though we’ve been building them, or letting them grow up, for a thousand years; but we do know a little, and that little can be used—and maybe more can be learned. Real houses can be built for workers now; for permanent residences later. Dormitories are built for the unattached men. A modern water supply is easily provided in this land of mountains, and light and power will come from the Dam. Conveniences for a population of four or five thousand will be even-

tually provided. Everything is to be "modern," convenient, and, as nearly as may be, within the reach of workers and engineers on the economic side.

Now, it must be obvious that many of the men and women who come here to live will find themselves living in more "civilized" surroundings than they have ever known before in their lives. These houses are new, clean, convenient, arranged to be used and lived in by people who have, or have the capacity to attain, certain *standards of living*. Some of the laborers may resent this demand upon them. But the community is being planned for permanence and it cannot be dragged down. The Authority is determined that its constructive efforts shall ensure the "economic and social welfare" of the people who do the work, first of all. The law calls for this; but above the law, common sense, economy, and the "future of civilization" call for it. What is to be done about it?

In the past, community planners have encountered stubborn resistance at this point pretty generally. We all remember the stories of tenement dwellers who, moving into better-class apartments and having no knowledge of the uses of the new conveniences, have used the bathtubs as coal bins. For a generation, we've been pitying the poor reformers whose generous work thus went for naught, and we've satirized the "simple fools" who didn't know enough to make proper use of these new things! Probably, however, we and the reformers have been the simple fools. We have been using a sort of "left-handed" Marxianism in interpreting the world; we have believed, for example, that the presence of a bathtub will compel people to take baths or at least make them want to do so. This is nonsense, of course. Nevertheless, millions of Americans who have been scandalized by the direct Marxianism of the Russians—the doctrine that economic conditions tend to determine the cultural levels of a people—are easily able to hold this "left-handed Marxianism"; namely,

that a bathtub ought to make a dirty man want a bath. At any rate, after we have given this dirty man a bathtub and find that he uses it for coal, we take a great deal of pleasure in heaping biting criticisms upon him and calling him all sorts of names—and all because he uses what we call a bathtub for the only use it suggests to him; namely, a coal bin.

This new city, Norris, will have, presently, a total population of some four or five thousand men, women, and children. It is twenty-five miles from a city market. The Authority must see to it that adequate food supplies are available for the workers now and for the whole population as it grows. Foods can be bought in Knoxville, of course, but the Act of Congress provides that the productive interests of the people of the Valley are to be fostered. Some of the food needed, even now, is being produced on the ground in garden plots and on small farms, and in poultry yards, under the direction of experts. Why not all of it?

Take the item of poultry and eggs. A city of five thousand will use hundreds of dozens of eggs daily. The Authority could build poultry yards large enough to provide these eggs. But that would defeat the very purpose of this whole project. So instead of producing all the eggs, or other foods, needed, the Authority is setting up "demonstration units" in each of these food areas. The poultry unit will house about five hundred hens. These will produce, say, forty dozens of eggs daily. These hens will be of the best breeds and grades and, under the direct care of experts, the eggs produced will be of the highest quality. The rest of the eggs needed in the city will be bought from the surrounding country, but no eggs will be bought that fall below the standard set by the demonstration unit. The farms round about will have to learn how to produce high-quality eggs if they want to sell their product in Norris. The same rule and test will apply in all other food lines.

No one on the surrounding farms will be compelled to do any-

thing about this; no farmer in the Valley will be compelled to raise better grades of chickens. But any farmer who wants to sell eggs in Norris will have to learn how to do this very thing. If he should complain that he doesn't know how to do this, the Authority will provide him with expert instruction, free of charge. The instruction is available to any farmer who wants to learn. There is to be a new civilization in the Valley and the customs of the countryside must be made over, not by imposition but by adaptation to the new realities.

This plan of making the production of *a part* of the needed supplies of the city a means of setting standards, and of educating the producers to those standards, will be followed in many lines. There is to be no arrogant imposition of any imported program; but the world at large knows many things, has many skills, now unknown in the Valley, and there will be intelligent and concrete demonstrations of these more adequate types of production. This—with the control of the standards of quality—will motivate similar activities in the whole Valley. *People do not know*, automatically, how to live and act in new situations; they must learn how. Hence, nothing can be more sensible or economical, either as business or as education, than to use the very processes by which this new city is being created as the means of educating the people affected by it *how to live in it*. If this can be done, fully—and this is a large part of the program of the Authority—then the whole process of reconstruction becomes intelligent, integrated, economical, educational; in short, “for the physical and social welfare of the people of the Valley.” Moreover, this sort of thing promises a genuine *culture*; it provides the conditions for that “prolonged and cumulative interaction with the environment,” which is the source of all real culture.

Now we are able to see that there is implicit in these great engineering enterprises at the Dam, and in the Valley, a most

far-reaching program of social and spiritual development; not an imposition, but a promise; not an explicit thing, but an implication; not a present existence, but something that is to be! Something new—in education—new habits, skills, and ideas related to these new technological industries; new social relationships called for by the life in this new automatic city; new concern for health and physical welfare; new moralities—such as can keep living healthful, even in a modern industrial city, where machinery will do most of the work; new appreciations of all that life can gain, or lose, by being related to these new technological adventures; in short, a new human person—for the new civilization!

There will be room for much more leisure in Norris, for electricity is to do more of the work of the world, taking much of the drudgery away from women, especially. So if these women of the city want to use some of their leisure in weaving baskets, or in dancing to old folk music, that will probably be as profitable use of their time as most politicians can show!

Such far-reaching factors, and others there is no space to mention, indicate what we may call the “social and educational implications” of these great technological activities. In all other phases of the Valley project—control of soil erosions, reforestation, classification of lands for farming purposes, and the rest—implications of a similar sort may be found, and modes of motivating people to take advantage of, and to learn by means of, these wider opportunities are being discovered. The basic factor may be *power*, and industrial development; but blindness, alone, will be responsible if those in authority fail to see that there are social, educational, moral, and spiritual implications here as well; in short, the promises of a new civilization!

This is what TVA implies. This will be accomplished in good time if the original plans can be made to hold—and to grow courageously at need—always, of course, within the limitations

of human creativeness and against the resistances of the rock-ribbed continent and its scarcely less rock-ribbed and rugged inhabitants.

Human resistance to change is natural enough when it is seen in the long perspectives of anthropology and history; but to say that it is natural is not the same thing as saying that it is *right*, in any ultimate sense. Man has probably always submitted to change against his will; that is, against his settled habits; against the patterns already established in his nervous system, the inertia of his customary mind, the lag of his existent cultures. Some groups may even have preferred death to change. But others have submitted and "civilization" has advanced so far. The folkways of the primitive group have been much of the same texture as are the hills of East Tennessee. But even these latter are yielding to the impact of giant shovels and the blasts of dynamite.

It is a ghastly thing to destroy old mountains and leave behind the obscene remains of work begun and left unfinished. It is a noble thing to bring the earth under cultivation on friendly, creative terms, to build a city in the wilderness, and to make the valley blossom as the rose. Neither the earth, itself, nor any race of men has the inherent right to stand in the way of a program thus creatively conceived and carried through to a human consummation!

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

TRANSLATING RESEARCH INTO ACTION

A notable problem arising in relation to social and educational research is that of translating research results into practical programs. Not only has there been a general failure to utilize the results of research, but there has never been an adequate statement of this problem. The problem not only needs to be stated, but its implications need to be studied in order that methods may be developed for profiting by the results of the thousands of research projects which have been completed in the past few decades at a cost of millions of dollars.

Many interesting aspects of this problem present themselves for consideration. One would like to know the extent to which important researches and their results are really known to others working in the same fields. To what extent are the results of extensive researches merely lying on dust-laden shelves in university libraries or administrative offices? To what extent are the results of research ever used by practical persons or by those in a position to profit by such use? To what extent are results of research used by agencies merely to serve some particular purpose of a partisan or biased character? How may the results of research be translated into action by community agencies? How may they be carried over to the public in order that public backing may be secured for improving social techniques? These and many more questions, which present themselves, are tremendously important both to the future of research and to the solution of social problems. They deserve careful study.

An interesting example of an attempt to translate the results of research into action is illustrated by the recent development of the National Committee on Public Education for Crime Control. The purpose of this Committee is to create an instrument through which the valid information relative to the problem of crime in America, which is available through research in this field, may be employed for purposes of public education. It is the feeling of the Committee that there should be a link between the scientist on the one hand and the general public on the other so that the find-

ings of research may be rendered into elementary terms capable of broad public assimilation and then placed before the public through the media of the radio, the newspapers, the periodical press, and other instruments through which public education is effected. It is further the hope of the Committee that a comprehensive program of sound public education, such as this, may result in the crystallization of strong public sentiment behind desirable measures for the control of this problem.

As a result of its preliminary work the Committee has already sponsored a number of authoritative broadcasts over New York stations. Plans are now being made for the launching of a series of authoritative broadcasts over one of the major radio chains, the programs to be presented weekly over a period of a year. Arrangements also are being made for the presentation of an authoritative series of eight articles covering the problem of crime through one of the leading newspaper syndicates.

In this way it is expected to increase sound public information on various phases of the crime problem and, through the consequent development of public opinion, to gain support for changes in our practical programs of crime prevention and control.

It is hoped that the public-relations departments of universities will join hands with the Committee in working out a plan for a more adequate presentation of the results of criminological researches, which have been carried on under the auspices of various academic institutions. It has been pointed out by members of the Committee and leading professors in schools of law that the criminologists are in possession of a great deal of sound, scientific data which not only has never been used in the practical field, but which is more or less inaccessible to those dealing first hand with crime and to the public in general. It has been stated, furthermore, that the press and popular periodicals are accustomed to pick up the results of such researches and lay emphasis only on their sensational and spectacular aspects, often taking material out of its context and thus giving erroneous impressions to their readers. This type of presentation of the results of research is unfavorable to the researches and to the development of sound, practical programs. It is this sort of irresponsible use of research materials that the Committee, as a part of its program, hopes to avoid in the ultimate development of its work.

The Committee at present is constituted by an advisory board and an executive group. The advisory board is composed of the following members: Sheldon Glueck, Harvard University Law School, chairman; Harry Elmer Barnes, *New York World Telegram*; Sanford Bates, director,

United States Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C.; Alfred Bettman, lawyer, Cincinnati; Bernard Botein, assistant district attorney, New York County; Charles L. Chute, director, National Probation Association; John Kirkland Clark, lawyer, New York City; Irving W. Halpern, chief, Probation Department, Court of General Sessions, New York City; George W. Kirchwey, former dean, Columbia University Law School, formerly warden of Sing Sing Prison; Austin H. MacCormick, commissioner of correction, New York City; J. A. MacDermott, president, Commercial Crime Commission; George Z. Medalie, formerly United States attorney, Fifth District, New York; Thorsten Sellin, professor of sociology, University of Pennsylvania; Harry M. Shulman, formerly research director, Sub-commission on Causes, New York State Crime Commission; John Slawson, director, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City; Edwin H. Sutherland, research professor of criminology, University of Chicago; Frederic M. Thrasher, associate professor of education, New York University; Joseph N. Ulman, judge, Supreme Bench of Baltimore; and John Barker Waite, professor, University of Michigan Law School.

The executive committee is composed of Frederic M. Thrasher, chairman; J. Kenneth Jones, executive secretary; and Messrs. Barnes, Botein, Chute, Glueck, Halpern, Kirchwey, MacCormick, Schulman, and Slawson.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Social Composition of the Secondary Schools of the Southern States, by FLOYD JORDAN. Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1933, 101 pages.

Apparently pupils coming from homes with bathrooms have over ten times as satisfactory chances of finishing high school in the Southern States as pupils from homes without this convenience. And if they come from homes with six to ten rooms there seems to be little chance of failure. Dr. Jordan has analyzed the social and economic status of the pupils in these schools and any one who believes that in America, at least in the Southern States, a democratic high school has developed is sure to be disillusioned if he reads this analysis. The pupils, the parents, the homes, the stability of the secondary-school population—all are considered and reported upon fully in this interesting volume. It is worthy of an hour of any one's time.

Legends and Dances of Old Mexico, by NORMA SCHWENDENER AND AVERIL TIBBELS. New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1934. 116 pages.

In an admirably contrived volume the authors have given an interesting syntheses of historical material and the contemporary dance in present-day Mexico. It is an interesting treatment of the blending of two cultures, showing practices in ancient Mexico which have altered because of contacts with Catholic Spain. It is admirably contrived along practical lines and is of inestimable value to teachers of plays, physical education, and the folk dance. However, to those interested in social anthropology the appeal is strong and valid in this composed and authentic book.

Island India Goes to School, by E. R. EMBREE, M. S. SIMON, AND W. B. MUMFORD. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934, 120 pages.

Here is a book which in plain understandable terms describes the educational work of the Dutch colonial government in its Eastern Indies. It is the only book of its kind in English. It is, moreover, interesting stuff of the first order.

American Consultation in World Affairs, by RUSSEL M. COOPER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, 402 pages.

With unusual clarity, the author has presented a concise analysis of the activities of the League of Nations, specifically of the United States, for the preservation of peace. He reviews the disarmament conferences, the Pact of Paris, the Sino-Russian dispute of 1928, the conflict in the Chaco, the Leticia dispute, and the contest between China and Japan.

Although one may fail to agree with the author's conclusion that "the only obstacles to United States consultation are political and these will be overcome," the reader is compelled to admire the forcefulness of the argument as supported by the comprehensive array of documentary evidence.

The Fields and Methods of Sociology, by L. L. BERNARD. New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1934, 504 pages.

This volume is written to serve as a textbook for advanced students of sociology and consists of papers presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society. These papers, however, are so revised, edited, and supplemented that they form a composite whole and not a disjointed set of papers. The book consists of two parts: first, *The Field and Problems of Sociology*, and second, *The Sources and Methods of Sociology*. The book is presented in line with recent emphasis in sociology and is an inductive approach, each chapter presenting a careful study and summary of the data it treats. The volume is a contribution of the American Sociological Society to the developing science of sociology and will no doubt exert a wide influence upon the future development and teaching of the field in which the society is interested.

The Educational Philosophy of Giovanni Gentile, by MERRITT MOORE THOMPSON. Southern California Education Monographs, 1933-34 Series, No. 1. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, ix + 217 pages.

Giovanni Gentile, as is well known, is the spiritual father as well as actual reformer of modern Italian education. His reforms, known as the Gentile Laws, have been designated by the blackshirt Duce "as the most Fascist of all Fascist reforms." In describing the reforms and the philosophy on which they are built, the author has struck the bull's-eye. Well written, compact, and superbly documented, this book is indispensable to students of comparative education.

Our Children, by DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER AND SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG. New York: Viking Press, 1932, 348 pages.

This book grew out of questions which were asked by parents at the Child Study Association of America. It is an attempt to bring together a comprehensive background of knowledge on everything that affects the child and is a volume which the parent can use as a handbook. It is a collection of some thirty articles by specialists. Each specialist has stated, each in his own field, those essentials about which he can give information and guidance. The material is assembled in terms of the child's growth and development, the child at home, at school, and in the outside world.

Child Psychology, by ARTHUR T. JERSILD. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933, 462 pages.

The author has made a genetic approach to the psychological aspect of growth in children beginning with the newborn infant and progressing through early childhood. The book is outstanding in that the author has made a careful review of the important researches in this field, which he presents succinctly, and has used these findings as the bases for much of his discussion. Among the subjects discussed are language development, infant and child emotions, development of social behavior, learning and growth of understanding, individual differences in mental ability, personality and character development. The material is well organized and is especially recommended for the student of child study and for intelligent parents.

The Psychology of Infancy, by VICTORIA HAZLITT. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1933, ix + 149 pages.

This volume is written by the late lecturer in psychology at the University of London. Throughout the book are exemplified the author's faith in empirical methods of study and her deep interest in human beings. In the volume are discussed the study of infants, the influence of heredity and prenatal conditions on mental constitution, sensory and muscular control in the infant under five months of age, the development of walking, vocal expression and the development of speech, the formation of habits, memory, children's thinking, and character: its basis and development.

Educational Psychology: An Application of Modern Psychology to Teaching, by DANIEL BELL LEARY. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1934, xiv + 363 pages.

Dr. Leary has made a unique and valuable contribution to the literature of the field. He has made many practical applications of the best of modern psychology to teaching. Irrelevant material has been omitted. The author evaluates some of the conflicting psychologies and attempts to show, through the use of logic or psychological experimentation, what is acceptable. Significant sections of the book will appeal particularly to teachers of the subject who feel the need of such a critical evaluation.

Problems in Teacher-Training, Volume VIII, edited by ALONZO F. MYERS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934, 364 pages.

This book contains the proceedings of the 1933 Spring Conference of the Eastern States Association of Professional Schools for Teachers. It is a splendid reference for those interested in current problems and modern trends in teacher education. There is a lengthy summary of the major findings of the national survey of the education of teachers. There are papers dealing with selective admission to teacher-training institutions and with teacher-training curricula. The student-conference section contains reports of activities of student organizations in the teachers colleges.

Persons One and Three, by SHEPHERD I. FRANZ. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933, 188 pages.

This is a rather detailed account of an Irish soldier who suffered from amnesia and fuges which resulted in changes of personality. The first personality condition dates back previous to the World War; the second a few months later; the third one is the result of an integration of the two. There are evidences of total amnesia of many events, and confusion of other events which were recalled with considerable pain. It is a most interesting and enticing story of an attempt at scientific analysis of a multiple personality. The author gives only generalizations regarding the emotional disturbances and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Conversion, by A. D. Nock. London: Oxford University Press, 1933, 309 pages.

Conversion is a study of that compelling force of religion which has caused acceptance of religion. Instead of looking at it from the Christian point of view, the writer seeks to look at it from the outside. Thus the major part of the book deals with the idea of conversion in relation to the religion of the Greeks, Romans, and the Eastern cults. The last three chapters deal with the spread of Christianity, the teachings of Christianity as viewed by a pagan, and three types of conversion represented in the conversions of Justin, Arnobius, and Augustine.

Race Relations, by WILLIS D. WEATHERFORD AND CHARLES S. JOHNSON. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1934, 555 pages.

This scholarly work, which deals with the adjustment of whites and Negroes in the United States, will go far towards an understanding of the race problem by the intelligent of both races. The authors are leaders in an attempt to work out a basis for mutually tolerant understanding among Negroes and whites. The assurance that misunderstanding arises from a lack of knowledge and the conviction that a logical presentation of facts in a clear and compelling manner will disperse ignorance provides the keynote in this book. The book, therefore, is not only a distinct contribution to the literature in the field but one that will serve an important function in eliminating race prejudice.

Personal Development and Guidance in College and Secondary School, by RUTH STRANG. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934, 341 pages.

The title of this volume is descriptive of a field which for purposes of treatment the author has divided into four phases: administrative aspects and educational guidance; individual counseling; control of the student's environment and supervision of group activities; vocational guidance. The present volume deals with the first of these divisions only and is treated in three parts: personnel work in education; selection and orientation of students; educational guidance. The author's purpose is to give an "integrated creative summary" of contributions made in this field during the period from 1919 to 1934. A wealth of significant data is made available in well-organized form and is accompanied by a comprehensive classified bibliography.

The Philosophy of John Dewey, A Critical Analysis, by W. T. FELDMAN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, 127 pages.

A searching examination, well worth while. The premises of Dr. Dewey's philosophy and their motives are studied. Some of these premises are accepted, others are rejected. The various short chapters deal with the concept of organism, empiricism, temporalism, Darwinism, practicalism, futurism, creative intelligence and emergent evolution, continuity, moralism, and educational theory. The complexity of factors in an argument by Dewey is shown, so that "he can seldom stand unambiguously and unequivocally on one side of any important philosophical controversy" (p. 113). The volume will help those readers who find Dr. Dewey puzzling because of his shifting points of view and the alternative meanings of his terms.

Introduction to the Study of American Education, by LESTER M. WILSON AND ISAAC LEON KANDEL. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1934, vii + 328 pages.

The authors present something in the nature of a social survey of education in the United States, past and present. This social point of view is quite in accord with the spirit of today. Definite historical data is for the most part relegated to an adequate bibliography. There is, however, sufficient factual material to give the reader a sense of sequence and consequence as the authors trace the development and expansion of educational institutions, and their accompanying curricula, techniques, organization, and administration. We are told convincingly that in spite of obvious shortcomings in our educational planning they have been and are the reflection of "a distinctly American philosophy."

Character Education in Soviet Russia, edited by WILLIAM CLARK TROW. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor Press, 1934, 5 + 199 pages.

This volume might more appropriately have the title, "The Program for the Communistic Education of Young Pioneers." The contributors take special pains to point out the weaknesses and mistakes of the program thus far developed in educating the coming generation in the theory and practice of Communism. While the book relates to character education in so far as that has to do with producing loyal champions in the cause

of the working man (Communism), it actually is directly concerned with the problems of leaders (teachers) of the Young Pioneers. This organization is in essence a unified youth movement directed from above to produce "a warrior of the working class, a man with a strong will, who is an irreconcilable fighter for the ideology of the proletariat, a collectivist, an internationalist, a militant atheist, a socially enterprising organizer, polytechnically trained and universally educated."

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- Child Psychology*, by GEORGE D. STODDARD AND BETH L. WELLMAN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission on Social Studies*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Criminology*, by ALBERT MORRIS. New York: Longmans, Green and Company.
- Decade of Progress in Eugenics*. Scientific Papers of the Third International Congress of Eugenics, 1932. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company.
- Dynamics of Population*, by FRANK LORIMER AND FREDERICK OSBORN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Education and Emergent Man*, by WILLIAM C. BAGLEY. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- Environment and Growth*, by BARKEY S. SAUNDERS. Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc.
- European Policies of Financing Public Educational Institutions* (II—Czechoslovakia; III—Austria), by FLETCHER HARPER SWIFT. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Extra-Sensory Perception*, by J. B. RHINE. Boston: Boston Society for Psychic Research.
- The Family*, by JOSEPH KIRK FOLSOM. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
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- Fascism and Social Revolution*, by R. PALMER DUTT. New York: International Publishers.
- Five-Hundred Delinquent Women*, by SHELDON AND ELEANOR T. GLUECK. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

- Human Relations in Changing Industry*, by HARRY WALKER HEPNER. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Human Sex Anatomy*, by ROBERT LATOU DICKINSON. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company.
- I Worked for the Soviet*, by COUNTESS ALEXANDRA TOLSTOY. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Illegitimate Family in New York City*, by RUTH REED. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Industrialized Russia*, by ALCAN HIRSCH. New York: Chemical Catalog Company, Inc.
- Institutional Care of Mental Patients in the United States*, by JOHN MAURICE GRIMES. Chicago: John Maurice Grimes.
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- Juvenile Probation*, by BELLE BOONE BEARD. New York: American Book Company.
- Measurement in Radio*, by FREDERICK H. LUMLEY. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Mental Defect*, by LIONEL S. PENROSE. New York: Farrar and Rinehart.
- Mental Hygiene for Effective Living*, by EDWIN A. KIRKPATRICK. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.
- New Careers for Youth*, by WALTER B. PITKIN. New York: Simon and Schuster.
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- Practical Psychology in Character Development*, by RUDOLF ALLERS. New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc.
- Principles of Guidance*, by ARTHUR J. JONES. Second edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
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- Psychological Diagnosis and Social Adjustment*, by PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS. New York: American Book Company.

- Pursuit of Knowledge*, by STEPHEN LEACOCK. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation.
- Racial Contacts and Social Research*. Vol. XXVIII, American Sociological Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Russia's Iron Age*, by WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLAIN. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Sex in Prison*, by JOSEPH F. FISHMAN. New York: National Library Press.
- Sex Life of the Unmarried Adult*, edited by IRA S. WILE. New York: Vanguard Press.
- Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, by HANS LIGHT. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc.
- Short History of the New Deal*, by LOUIS M. HACKER. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company.
- Singers in the Dawn*, compiled by ROBERT B. ELEAZER. Atlanta, Georgia: Conference on Education and Race Relations.
- Single Woman*, by ROBERT LATOU DICKINSON AND LURA BEAM. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company.
- Social Psychology*, by LAURENCE GUY BROWN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Spastic Child*, by MARGUERITE K. FISCHER. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company.
- Survey of Contemporary Economics*, edited by NORMAN S. BUCK. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- Teachers and Teaching*, compiled by FRANK W. HART. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Wise Choice of Toys*, by ETHEL KAWIN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
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EDITORIAL

Nothing is so important in determining the individual's social effectiveness and personal happiness as his or her adjustment to sex life. Yet there is nothing about which the modern man and woman is more ignorant than sex. We have little accurate knowledge. The half knowledge we have is shot through with superstition and misinformation. Our vocabularies lack words with which to talk or think intelligently about sex. Our emotions get in the way of our using what little knowledge we have in meeting our sex problems realistically. As a result few of us, men or women, have achieved sexual maturity. Lacking sexual maturity, there is the possibility of neither emotional nor social maturity. The dramas unfolded daily in our divorce courts and domestic-relations courts, as well as in our psychiatric clinics, bear eloquent testimony to the toll of human unhappiness, to say nothing of the social disorganization, which results from this immaturity.

In the past decade science has turned its scrutiny upon man's problems of behavior. There is rapidly accumulating a body of scientific information concerning sex and its relationship to man's strivings and social adjustment, which makes ignorance no longer necessary. Fortunately, at the same time, perhaps largely as a result of this scientific knowledge, our social taboos against discussing sex problems are breaking down. Consequently, sex education is now a possibility. Many problems involved in education about sex remain, however, to be answered. When should such

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education begin? How rapidly should it proceed? What knowledge is it necessary to include? How should this knowledge be taught? Where should it be taught? In the home? In the school?

This issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* does not pretend to answer these questions. It has drawn, rather, upon the experiences of those who have been actively concerned with sex education for their thinking about these questions. It is hoped that their thinking will stimulate others, particularly educators, to further thinking concerning these problems. If we conceive of education as experience which should contribute to the maturity and adjustment of the developing child, these are problems which we dare not ignore!

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PARENTS' PROBLEMS IN SEX EDUCATION

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Education has come to be so generally conducted and directed by special agencies and institutions that many adults find it difficult to consider the activities and influences of the home as significant and potent educational forces. It is true that parents have generally delegated to the school the task of teaching children certain elementary skills and organized knowledge, but they have not divested themselves of responsibility for the continuous direction of the children's education. Nor have they lost in the process a certain pervasive control over the children's development.

In sex education, as in other fields that involve the sentiments and attitudes, the home occupies a distinct place. In addition to getting its work in ahead of the other forces, the home as an educational agency has two distinctive characteristics. It normally operates through the affections, in large measure unconsciously, and so determines attitudes of liking or disliking with relation to almost all kinds of experiences, objects, personalities, situations, ideas, and actions. The home operates continuously, in contrast to other influences; for even when children are old enough to go to school and to associate with many companions the home is there with its frequent reminders and persistent pressures in the direction of its own traditions. For better or for worse, parents fix children's values and purposes, whether or not they are aware of what they are doing, whether or not they succeed in carrying out their intentions.

The problem of sex education, which has been receiving more and more attention for many years, is to a large degree one of redirecting the attitudes and assumptions—of parents. For while the need for sex education is present in every kind of culture, it has become a special and conscious problem under our modern

conditions. Normally this need is met by the folklore and the folkways, by the laws and customs, by the ceremonials and taboos. The special need today exists because we are completely surrounded by all sorts of people, with all sorts of backgrounds and beliefs and ideals and practices that are at many points in conflict with one another. That is, there is no longer any uniform and standard pattern acceptable to practically all families or groups, and enforceable through a church or a legal machine. Children, as a consequence, are constantly exposed to numberless influences and suggestions charged with sex, so that no home can rely upon its own ideals and mode of life to ensure adequate protection and guidance.

Parents thus have to face the necessity for "sex education" and are left with no choice as to whether or not they will supply it or approve it. Even when they decide to do nothing at all, they are inviting these various extraneous influences—of conversation, movies, books, news, comic strips, advertising, drama, commercial displays—to do their several and collective best either to support and reinforce or to counteract the mode of life followed in the home. Moreover, when they decide to do nothing at all they are, nevertheless, influencing their children because they are manifesting their own attitudes, their approvals and disapprovals, their values, in their gestures and grimaces, their very silences, whenever anything comes up that is but remotely suggestive of sex—and that is almost constantly.

The choice of the parent is, then, to do something purposeful, to decide on the how, what, and when. The task of sex education is to help children understand the nature of their basic drives and feelings, their complexities and interactions, and eventually attain to an adjustment. But parents are called upon to guide the children while they are themselves still confused and disturbed by their own emotions, still driven and blocked by their own fears.

The fears that trouble parents with regard to sex are generally

of two different kinds. There are those that have been implanted by our own upbringing, what we may call the blind fears of shame and secrecy, the feelings of guilt we experience because, in spite of the repugnance that our elders attempted to develop in us, sex does in fact allure, or the conflicts between our revulsions at our "animal" nature and the recurrent desires. With these fears are often associated the honest conviction that the flesh and the devil exact their price eventually through the tortures of the venereal diseases or of insanity.

The second series of fears grows out of personal experience and observation. Without being technically proficient in the various sciences that touch upon the many phases of sex, parents of ordinary intelligence acquire serious apprehensions from the obvious failures to be observed on all sides. There are unhappy marriages, there are conditions that prevent marriage, there are arrestings of sex development at various levels of immaturity, from the childish self-gratifications of sensory stimulation (many forms and degrees of masturbation), through homosexuality and indiscriminate promiscuity. All these and other failures represent interferences with the normal maturing process, which we assume to involve a progressive integration of the sensual or "physical" factors in sex with the affective or psychic components, the fusing of the organic and instinctive elements with the spiritual in the characteristically human experience of love.

Above all, however, parents are beset with difficulties because, as human beings, they are obliged to deal with their own emotions and instinctive drives and the need of personal adjustment, aside from any imposed fears of the cultural background or surroundings. If they are to do anything constructive in the education of their children, it is necessary that they come to understand the nature and source of their own inhibitions and the taboos of the past, and of their own drives and desires. It is necessary for them to recognize that they can help their children only as

they themselves grow in insight and clarify for themselves their own objectives and ideals. They are confronted with a major task of self-education.

The child's education with respect to sex matters starts in infancy, and usually in a negative form. That is, during the months when the child is becoming acquainted with his material surroundings, the persons about him, and his own body, he discovers that a distinction is made between what may be touched, seen, spoken of, known about, and what may not be handled, watched, named, or known. In the growth of the child's vocabulary similar distinctions are made, and, as we all know, certain features of external anatomy and certain processes often remain unspeakable. The parents, having for the most part also come through this phase of sex education, are generally embarrassed when their children arrive at this elementary learning stage, and, lacking words with which to be helpful, feel themselves also lacking in elementary knowledge about the functions and processes that are so universal. It is necessary, then, for the parent both to overcome the disposition to repress the child's curiosity and to build up a body of positive knowledge.

The imparting of information is here necessary as in other educational efforts and commonly receives first attention. It has been found practicable to have the child absorb in his early vocabulary names for all the readily accessible parts of the human body, including the genitals, the nipples, the navel, the anus, and so on, without prejudice. And similarly it has been found practicable to have the child learn the more obvious sex differences in external anatomy through the familiar contacts of the home, without attaching to these differences an excessive amount of emotion.

There is no special virtue in using technical terms, except that for most self-conscious adults these are more easily managed without embarrassment than are the common or "vulgar" terms;

but the latter are apparently attainable without being necessarily associated with "vulgar" sentiments or attitudes. As for the use of pet names restricted to the privacy of the family, these have the disadvantage that they may embarrass the child when he has occasion later to compare notes with his companions outside—as he surely will.

One great advantage of accepting the entire range of familiar anatomical and physiological terms and facts, including those that have to do with sex and reproduction, is that they can be assimilated by the young child with a minimum of emotional coloring. The longer this phase of learning is deferred, the more will disturbing curiosity have developed; and during the pubertal period there will be the additional handicap of emotional associations.

With the passing of time the child will be able to assimilate further information regarding reproduction, the rôle of the father, menstruation, seminal emissions, and sex attraction. Where there has been a frank and continuous channel of communication between parent and child, many questions will arise that parents cannot anticipate. All sorts of episodes call for comment and interpretation, and the child's growing mind sees problems that more settled elders have never thought of or have forgotten to think about.

The information thus imparted, whether in response to the child's framed questions or casually in the course of the ordinary exchange of thought and comment, supplies a framework about which the individual fits bits of imagery, of preference, of hostility, of inclination, of resolution, fragments gathered from others, from reading, from the motion pictures; and all of these impressions and experiences tend to fuse into whatever personality is in the making.

But the parent's acceptance of the duty to impart information involves new difficulties and responsibilities. While the infor-

mation thus furnished may be valuable and while its imparting may serve to keep parents and child together, it is not by itself sufficient. Many parents have eagerly seized upon biological information as a solution of their problem. It gives them an opportunity to atone for previous neglect or for the earlier failure to answer the child's questions. Children differ so widely as to their interests and needs that even the question "Where do babies come from?" may mean a great variety of problems. It depends upon the age of the child, his previous experience, the special trend of his intellectual interests, recent happenings in the family or neighborhood, his emotional relationship to his parents, the presence of older brothers or sisters. Some children want a great deal of anatomical detail, others are rather fastidious and would avoid it, even if it had nothing to do with sex. Some wonder about what we may call the vital continuity of the generations (although no child is likely to recognize his curiosity under that label), while others are concerned with the mystery of growth and development from the tiny speck of "egg," or with the mother's personal experience, about possible pains, and so on. It is easier to transmit objective information than to nurture the growth of sound sentiments, or to interpret the implications of sex in human relations, in human aspirations, and in adjustments. There is, therefore, the temptation to resort to such factual instruction as a flight from the more difficult task.

It is, nevertheless, necessary, for the sake of the relationship between parent and child, to answer frankly and clearly, questions that do arise and as completely as the child's actual curiosity and comprehension require. But that is no easy matter. It calls for more information than most parents have at hand and for a clearer notion of what is in the child's mind.

A little boy of six who had been given all the information he could absorb met his grandmother at the door of his home as he came home from school one afternoon. He was greeted with the

happy news that he now had a little sister; he had known that a baby was expected, so that the only addition to his knowledge consisted of the information that this was the day and that it was a sister rather than a brother. His first response to the glad tidings was the excited question, "Where is the cord?" The grandmother approved "sex education" for children, but she could not help feeling that this had gone too far. The normal response of the child, she felt, should have been some manifestation of solicitude for the mother and some curiosity about the infant; she could not help feeling that this curiosity about the cord was "morbid." It would not have been difficult to convince other members of the family that here was a case where sex education had been carried too far, perhaps to discourage the mother in her noble efforts.

But even so unusual a response need not be considered as necessarily unwholesome, although it may call for further watching. In this particular case it appeared only a few months later that the same concern about details extended beyond sex and reproduction. The boy came to see the same grandmother, after she had been shielded from visitors for weeks because of a heart attack, carrying with him a large book opened to a picture of the human heart. This time his question was, "Granny, in which chamber of the heart did you have pain?" If this was morbid, it was at least not "sexy"; and the boy eventually became a physician.

At best, however, meeting the child's curiosity, even the anticipation of his questions, and even the skillful guidance into the personal and social implications of whatever is learned, cannot suffice as information. Parents often declare with something of aggrieved astonishment that after they had told their children as fully and clearly as they could these children quickly forgot the precious instruction. That is certainly disconcerting; but where in all our experience with children do the things told remain

remembered? Or remembered just as told? Questions have to be answered, and repeatedly. And vast amounts of information have to be transmitted, incidentally and casually, or earnestly and pointedly; and only a fragment here and there sticks. That is because only a fragment here and there is likely to have real meaning to the recipient at the time. For not only have particular questions different meanings to different children, and to the same child at different times, but a given answer varies in its significance. This is obvious, for example, when "being in love" is considered by a ten-year-old and by a fourteen-year-old.

Sex education of growing boys and girls extends beyond factual information to the shaping of ideals of human relations and to the setting of attitudes towards every phase of life, including homemaking and mating. The home is the hearth around which develop the deepest affections and the strongest drives. Originating apparently in sex, it is the chief source of security and of the most satisfying companionships; and for these reasons the failure of the domestic life may mean the greatest miseries and disasters.

Since at best every home must to a degree fall short of the ideals which the parents hold, there is need not only for a considerable amount of positive guidance, but also for special caution against the danger of overcompensating for the recognized deficiencies. Parents who are aware that they had themselves been injured by excessive repressions during childhood will be tempted to make up by indulging their children, or by ignoring their irregularities. Parents who are aware of having been left too much to themselves during childhood will be tempted to restrict and overprotect their children.

There is serious need for clarifying the continuing and far-reaching relationships that arise out of sex precisely because all our social structures, including the home, have been shaken. Young people want to know and are entitled to know the lasting

meaning of marriage, why both the church and the state are concerned with it, what more it signifies than a legitimizing of sex relations, why the issue of monogamy is important. What about petting and other courtship problems? What about divorce? And birth control? What is prostitution, and how is it different from sexual promiscuity, whether before or after marriage?

Few, if any, of these questions permit categorical answers that are valid everywhere and for everybody. The parent has to recognize that they call for attention today as never before, simply because there are more choices open to young people, more decisions to be made. Whatever their own convictions, parents have to help young people find their place among groups of widely divergent views and practices. The experience of the elders must help young people reconcile the divergencies even when there are strong convictions. We cannot say, as our parents did, "Nice people don't do that!" Indeed, we shall not be very helpful unless we can liberate ourselves from the old fears and the old stereotypes. We have to understand both how we came to our present state and how other folks arrived at theirs, and so find the courage to uphold our standards.

The parents who expect to do more than perpetuate the acceptable rules and order of their own past will have to reëducate themselves by means of study and reading and discussion and conference and reflection. There is a substantial body of excellent material on various aspects of sex—the biological, psychological, sociological—for those who are able and willing to read. The early advocates of sex education stressed information and promised a panacea. We know now that no education can remedy all our difficulties. There can be no assurance that with all our efforts we can attain the goals we set ourselves. But whether or not parents modify their outlooks and values through such study, they will gain from the quest in their own personal growth and in the deeper confidence and respect of their children.

SUMMARY

Parents educate children with respect to the meaning and place of sex in life both through imparting information and through upholding certain ideals and attitudes in daily conduct.

Direct instruction and explicit interpretation are necessary because the children need the information and guidance, but especially because it is essential that the avenues of communication between parent and child be intact at all points.

Although information is necessary it is not itself sufficient, and must not be allowed to serve as a substitute for more intimate and subtle emotional guidance.

The processes of sex education involve progressive reorientation of the parents, who are themselves in need of overcoming old fears and inhibitions, and of reexamining life values and objectives.

SEX PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENCE

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The first thing that strikes us in a consideration of the sex problems of adolescence is the many different phases they present and the many different angles from which they may be viewed. If we view them from the standpoint of the adolescent himself, they differ (1) in different stages; each phase of adolescence, early, middle, and late, has its peculiar problems. (2) They differ in boys and in girls, which needs no demonstration even to the most ardent feminist. (3) They differ in different cultures; the problems of the Samoan or the Sudanese girl or boy are not altogether like those in our own society. (4) Even in any given society, the cultural environment in which the youth is fortunate or unfortunate enough to spend his childhood will inevitably color his own reactions to the developmental changes of puberty as well as set the standards for his later conduct. (5) And perhaps most important of all in shaping his attitudes towards sex is the family setting, the kind of parents to whom he is born, and the degree of intelligent handling that he has in childhood.

Again, the sex problems of adolescence are one thing to the youth themselves and something else to parents and teachers. There are some writers on sex who maintain that problems in this field are invariably the result of the reactions of parents, teachers, or others in authority to the sex behavior of the children, and if we elders could keep our hands off the problems would disappear. But this, it seems to me, is confining ourselves to only one aspect of the matter, and ignoring the fact that the adolescent himself may be acutely aware of problems of which he keeps his elders in ignorance or which issue in behavior seemingly far removed from the sex sphere.

The problems of early adolescence are concomitant with the development of the reproductive system. Growth changes and physical phenomena are accompanied by thoughts, feelings, and attitudes that are new in the child's experience—new at least in the meanings they now take on. Daydreams and phantasies, thoughts that he cannot control, sudden impulses to irrational behavior occupy his attention. He becomes acutely aware of things and people in his environment that left him cold before; he is drawn in one direction and repelled from another in a way quite bewildering to himself. The physical phenomena of sex force themselves upon the attention, and may be to the boy, as Mantegazza says, "terrifying." Much of this is forgotten as the youth grows older, and parents and teachers, observing his restlessness, his preoccupation, the slump in his schoolwork, or perhaps his overt misbehavior, seldom recall the ferment of their own early adolescence, and deal with him on some other basis, thus widening the breach which is now developing between the new generation and the older one. So seldom do the problems which are troubling the young adolescent come to light that they are likely to be considered abnormal when they do. We have only recently given up considering the masturbation of puberty an indication of total depravity or the forerunner of insanity, while the perfectly normal curiosity which vents itself in the pursuit of forbidden books or pictures still raises the hair on many a parental or pedagogic head.

Yet the normal boy in the early years of adolescence is in all likelihood going to masturbate, to take an excessive interest in obscenity of various types, and even perhaps engage in some form of sex experimentation with his own or the opposite sex. In many cultures these things are taken for granted, and either winked at by the elders or openly aided and abetted. The puberty ceremonies among savage peoples deal largely with sex, and aim to pass on to the initiate the knowledge and traditions of the

tribe so that when they are concluded he is considered a man and in possession of the secrets of manhood. In our own society also the boy frequently undergoes a sort of initiation, at the hands of the gang or older men and boys, who pass on to him their ideas of sex, often false and perverted, the product of their own "gutter" education. What he should understand as normal and universal experiences take on sinister meanings and, instead of the wholesome acceptance of sex as that which is to give meaning and purpose to the greater part of his after life, he comes to regard it with a furtive and salacious interest which too often cuts him off from later appreciation and enjoyment of the aesthetic and emotional values which, in civilized people, are the normal outgrowth of the sex instinct.

Because early adolescence is the gang and pal age, the stage of development in which the boy's interest is largely centered in those of his own sex, it carries the danger of sexual interest becoming attached to his own instead of to the opposite sex. The number of young boys who are approached by older boys or men with sexual suggestions is much greater than we like to believe. The majority, no doubt, spurn such advances or, if they are led into homosexual practices temporarily, repudiate them later as they learn better or develop more strength of character. But the ranks of the homosexuals are every year recruited from adolescents in the impressionable stage, who fall victim to their own half-understood desires and become the easy prey of the unscrupulous. Shutting our eyes to the problem, believing that only boys who are "naturally" degenerate or abnormal can engage in homosexual activities, gets us nowhere in the understanding or intelligent handling of the situation.

These are some of the problems in the sex sphere that engage the attention of the boy in early adolescence. The girl's problems are somewhat different. Because the physical aspects of sex are not so constantly in her consciousness, she is likely to turn more

to daydreaming and to cherish thoughts and phantasies which are less crudely sexual, but none the less sexual in origin. She is more inclined to romanticize and to dress up her feelings in terms of what she has learned at the movies or from her favorite novelist. Perhaps not so often as the boy does the girl seek an outlet for her feelings in masturbation, but what studies we have show that this activity is relatively frequent about the time of puberty. The thing that attracts most attention is the frequency with which young girls get "crushes" upon other girls or upon teachers. If wisely handled, such attachments may be a means of growth and enrichment of the girl's life, though there is the occasional case which baffles all ordinary attempts at understanding or treatment. The young girl is by no means immune to homosexual advances from other girls or women, but among the privileged classes she is not exposed to them so frequently as the boy, because she is more closely guarded and her friendships are much more likely to be known to her parents. What studies we have would indicate that the danger of homosexual temptation is greatest for the girl during the college period. The schoolgirl "crush" is, of course, motivated by sex feeling, but normally works itself out in romantic daydreams, note-writing, and gifts, or at the worst in silly behavior. Psychologically, it represents the transference of a part of the attachment to and dependence upon the mother to others outside the home circle, which is a necessary step in adolescent development.

But many times the physical and mental ferment of puberty issues in overt action. The girl becomes "boy-struck" and the boy "girl-crazy." Notes are written, suggestive pictures or literature are smuggled about from one group to another, or, less harmfully perhaps, amateur flirtations are indulged in. The heterosexual emotion of this period is much more generalized than it will be later; there is less tendency to pairing off and more group activity. "Cases" are of short duration, and interest swings

rapidly from one person to another. At this period boys are not so likely to be interested in parties, "affairs," and so on, as girls, and girls are often the aggressors. During this time schoolwork is very likely to suffer; the child who has done well enough in the grades, and a little later will again be able to hold his own, loses interest and is bored, fails a subject or two and becomes discouraged or rebellious, and constitutes the well-known junior-high-school problem. All too often we look upon him as a unit which is failing to function in the school system rather than an individual who is floundering about in a welter of thoughts, feelings, and emotions of the developmental period and in danger of losing his bearings in what is to him of vastly more importance than algebra or history.

But in a very short time, overnight it seems to his elders, the early stages of adolescence are passed and boys and girls are taking on maturer attitudes and getting definitely interested in the old, old game of seeking a mate. They do not usually put it to themselves that way, but think of parties and dances, beaux and sweethearts, of "petting" and "necking." The tide of sex is running strong, but it has lost some of its cruder features, and is less of an individual experience, more something to be shared with one's partner. Girls get interested in homemaking and can be appealed to through home-economics courses and courses in the care and training of children. Boys become interested in the social aspects of life, and are ripe for the introduction to psychology and sociology that we do not give them in high school. The school too often fails to provide just the things of most importance and most interest because we do not recognize the implications for the child's future of the sexual development of middle adolescence.

The psychological development of sex follows the same pattern wherever we find it, but the problems arising from it will differ with the environment of the individual child. The boy whose early environment has soaked him in obscenity and

acquainted him with sex activity in all its forms, the girl whose childhood has been spent in the shadow of saloon and brothel and who has known the sordid side of sex from infancy will, of course, react differently than the young people who have grown up in the normal environment of our better communities. The underprivileged may not, however, make any special problem for the school, reserving one set of attitudes for it and another for their outside contacts. The pity of it is that so often the school does nothing for them. They cannot translate the attitudes and precepts of the school into terms of the environment in which they must function, and so far as their sexual standards and habits are concerned they need never have come in contact with the school at all.

But more important even than the social level from which the child comes is the family setting in which he spends his formative years. The son or daughter of well-to-do or educated parents is not thereby guaranteed a normal adolescent development. Cutting across all social and economic levels is the matter of personality integration of the parents and the degree of emotional maturity which they bring to the task of child rearing. The psychiatrist has been busy in the last decade or so uncovering numerous cases in which the problems of the adolescent were but reflections of the problems of the parent, or were set up in the child because of unhealthy or unwise attitudes in the parent. Numerous studies have made us familiar with the youth who is too closely attached to one parent or the other, or who is struggling to throw off the strangling embrace of the parent who is too much attached to him. The girl whose mother, because of her own unhappiness or maladjustment, has imbued her with a fear or hatred of sex; the boy whose father has answered his childish curiosity with threats or punishment; the children of divorced or estranged parents, witnesses of parental quarrels or torn between loyalty to both father and mother are not confined

to any one level of society. Children of the classes with more conventional upbringing probably suffer more than those in the less privileged classes, where life is more realistic and disillusionment comes earlier. But, nevertheless, the sex problems of adolescence, wherever they occur, must be viewed in relation to the child's home environment and the family setting in which his early years were spent, if we hope to understand them or help the youth in solving them.

We remarked above that the adolescent's sexual problems may issue in conduct that seems to have little relation to sex. Absorption in daydreaming leads to loss of interest in schoolwork or lack of energy to pursue it. Or the sexual awakening puts a different valuation upon reality and other things become of vastly more importance than school; truancy or shirking of lessons results. Sometimes the sense of guilt over sexual activities is so strong that the youth deliberately invites punishment by infraction of rules. This is a fairly common motive for misbehavior on the part of adolescents, even though they may themselves be scarcely aware of what prompts them to deeds that they know will merit punishment. Misconduct and even delinquencies such as stealing may be substitute activities that enable a youth to get a vicarious satisfaction, or they may signalize the confusion into which a child's ideas of ethical and moral values may be thrown by the wider outlook of adolescence.

These are some of the things that come to mind when we begin to think about the sex problems of early and middle adolescence. It is easy to point them out, but not so easy to decide what to do about it.

The first and most obvious thing that we can do is to insist that those who deal with the adolescent shall be intelligent upon the subject. We can get a little more realism into our courses in child and adolescent psychology in the teacher-training institutions, as well as some direct instruction in the biology, the history, and

the psychology of sex. There is no reason why in this day and age we should permit students to graduate from a teachers' college still cherishing the superstitions of their grandmothers, or incapable of separating the wheat from the chaff in the endless stream of books on sex that is now pouring from the press. The prospective teacher should have an orientation course that will put the subject in proper perspective, and should be able to thresh out her own problems with some one whom she can trust to understand them. The teacher already in service, whose training was finished before such work was available, can keep up-to-date through extension courses, lectures, and reading, and, if her own problems are standing in the way of her appreciation of those of her students, she should know where to seek help in understanding and resolving them. Every year teachers flock to lectures on "applied psychology" or "personality" or some other promising title, too often given by the psychological racketeers, or search eagerly through the book lists for information their education has denied them. Aside from the introduction of realistic courses into teacher-training institutions, the organization of study groups of teachers in service, or of parents and teachers, is perhaps at present the very best way in which we can attack the problem of sex education for adolescents. Any one who has had experience in teaching such groups knows not only how anxious the average teacher or parent is to learn the best way of handling the adolescent, but how ignorant she is of the problems which her own lack of sex education is producing. The taboo upon the open discussion of sex has so recently been lifted that great numbers of adults are still in need of the most elementary education, not only in the personal side of sex, but its social implications also. A stream cannot rise higher than its source, and we cannot expect our young people to attain overnight fuller information and finer attitudes than they find in those about them.

Any direct attack upon the sex problems of children of high-

school age should be part of a well-coördinated program, extending far down into the grades. The child should have, before puberty, information about the natural phenomena of sex, and adolescence should stress the meaning of sex in its larger implications, both personally and socially. Many of the school subjects offer opportunity for such teaching; not only biology and physical education, but especially social sciences, where the teacher is not afraid to leave the beaten paths and help the children discover both the social implications of individual conduct and the power of social forces to shape the individual. Psychology can—and should—be taught in high school as the study of human behavior and the motives underlying it. Here, as nowhere else, the personal problems of the pupil will come to light, and the teacher should be a man or woman of the highest character and intelligence, to whom the pupils can go for conferences, secure in the knowledge that their confidences will be respected. Though high-school pupils of the present day are amazingly frank in their discussions of sex, they are still reticent about many things, especially as they reflect upon their parents or the home situation.

But there are many difficulties in the way of a direct approach to the sex problems of adolescence through the school, some that seem to me as yet insuperable; I hope some of my fellow contributors to this symposium will be more optimistic. There are too many forces outside the school over which it has no control, forces that make for confusion and lowering of morale and for negation of the attitudes it tries to inculcate. Yet we cannot for a moment afford to forget the rôle of sex in adolescence, nor our obligation as teachers to get rid of our own inhibitions and false ideas and to make ourselves as intelligent as possible upon the subject.

NEW PATTERNS IN HIGH-SCHOOL SEX TEACHING

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In almost any public library one may pull out of hiding a few musty-fusty old books on the subject of sex education in the public schools. The contents of these books were not musty-fusty—far from it! The bindings are, because the people who read them closed them again, dusted their fingers (figuratively) from the contact, and went their way. “No, we’re not ready for that sort of thing yet.”

Many of us have grown up since those books were written. Two or three generations have wandered in and out of classes with seldom a breath to freshen the closed stuffiness that has prevailed against all sex teaching.

There was *The Scarlet Letter*. Who will forget the fog that enveloped our thirteen- or fourteen-year-old minds during the reading of that masterpiece? What did the letter mean? Why did Hester have to wear it? Why was it read? Nobody seemed to know. Everybody was afraid to ask.

English classes today are scarcely less tradition-bound. How many teachers, having chosen for required reading that appealing story of Thornton Wilder’s, *The Woman of Andros*, lay an adequate background for its understanding by explaining the hetaerae of ancient Greece?

In other subjects—history and economics, even to a large extent physiology and biology—the same restrictions prevail. In the twelve years that our children spend in the public school, a kind of taxidermal education is provided, outwardly very real, but inwardly deprived of those essentials that constitute the equipment of mortals.

Here and there a rare individual teacher seeks reform. In a girls' boarding school one such woman succeeded in supplying her class in physiology with a text which included among other chapters one on the reproductive system. The innovation was a great success. The girls were vitally interested. But such a bit of human womanliness was soon drafted for other things. The teacher married. Her successor (apostle of stuffiness) sought to have the text discarded. Failing in this she plied her scissors and performed a neat little castration upon each offending volume.

But with this traditional attitude we are all too familiar. The thing which many do not know, the thing which we must know and act upon, is that the traditional attitude no longer represents the public mind. The public may not know its mind is changed. If you were to accost it suddenly with a direct question—"Are you willing to have your child given sex instruction at school?"—you might get a negative answer or no answer at all. Habit partly—the old fear—and partly lack of knowledge of what is involved. Experience has shown that the parental attitude is not correctly indicated by the results of votes on the part of parents for their approval of sex instruction. It is a misleading and unsuccessful method. If the instruction is given without fanfare of trumpets, it is accepted without criticism and often with much gratitude.

In Cincinnati, the Social Hygiene Society carries on a double educational program—one for parents, the other for children in the schools. One has but to say, most casually to a parent group, "In my talks to the children—" to precipitate a riot of interest. "Will you talk to our children?" "How can we get you?" "Who makes the arrangements?" No sooner said than done. The parent-teacher association votes (not ballots) on the question. The school principal is consulted, and arrangements are concluded with him or his office. There is no argument, no persuasion, no selling campaign necessary. Both schools and parents are eager

for this work. In five years I can recall just three instances in which the two factors did not agree. The opposition in each case was represented by the school, not by the parents.

Just to convince you about parents. In an especially organized group of high-school girls who came from all sections of the city, I distributed at the close of the series of talks a questionnaire. The first three questions were aimed at the attitude of parents towards formal sex instruction for their daughters.

1. Have you told your mother the nature of these lectures?
2. Does she approve or disapprove?
3. What did she say?

Of the 108 answers returned, 97 had spoken of the lecture to their mothers, nine had not, and two did not answer. Of the 97 mothers who had been spoken to, 90 approved, two disapproved, five were indifferent.

The comments of approval were expressed variously:

Thought they were fine (12 answers).
Is grateful to you.
Told me to go.
Said it was a good experience.
Is much in favor.
Is glad I had the opportunity.
Fine material for any girl to know.
Fine and helpful.
Get all you can out of it.

And so on and on, an inspiring and encouraging return for all one was trying to do.

Parents of adolescent children readily recognize their own handicap in this subject. It is, they realize, a comparatively simple thing to explain to a six-year-old that he grew in his mother. It is an entirely different thing to face the needs of a sixteen-year-old who wants to know all the ins and outs of impregnation, embryological development, and parturition, to say nothing of a mass of psychological factors which lie back of

the conduct he observes in himself and others. At this point the average parent is as helpless as he would be in explaining a planetary nebula. Facts about the heavenly bodies and facts about human bodies have passed the mother's knee stage of teaching by the time the high-school age is reached. Detailed scientific instruction in any field is a school job.

There is, too, the emotional handicap. Fathers and mothers, if asked leading questions by sixteen-year-olds, are likely to break into frightening warnings against infection and illegitimate babies—an error chiefly of method on the part of parents inspired by old fears, explicable, but a handicap nevertheless which puts them a bit out of tune.

Relieved by the school of the formal aspects of sex teaching, parents can more easily and readily lend themselves to the rôle of adding the illustrative and human-interest element. "When Grandmother Paxton was sixteen, she married and moved out West to live where there wasn't a doctor for miles around. At the time her first baby was born—your Uncle Daniel—." Not the basic stuff—not the garment—but the embroidery, belongs to the home folks, who, adding a touch here and a touch there, can blend formal and informal together in a happy harmony of feeling and understanding.

The boys and girls themselves—how do they feel about this new subject projected into their midst? Need we ask! If their parents are eager for this instruction, the children are doubly so. Here at last is something with a ring to it, something that reaches in, meets you where you are, and strikes a harmony in your universe.

My first work in Cincinnati schools began as a guest lecturer to seventh- and eighth-grade girls, while my fellow lecturer addressed the boys. One would not soon forget the experience—the children, seventy or ninety, often over a hundred of them, flocking into the appointed room a bit excited, a bit scared, a bit

embarrassed, and more than a bit curious to know what it was all about.

For one brief hour they would sit listening and intent. The whispers, the restless shuffling of feet, the usual underlying movement of forced restraint were never present. An occasional fugitive smile, a suppressed giggle here and there inevitably gave way to serious, intent concentration upon the speaker's words.

When the lectures were over, we, the dispensers, like wandering minstrels, rolled up our charts and faded away until another spring returned, while the children marched back to their classes where the new vital experience of being face to face with realities for one short hour was suddenly overlaid with " $x + y$ " or "a is to b."

Yet between the close of the lecture and the departure of the children we were stampeded by eager young questioners. There was no evading them and their demands. They begged to be excused from classes to hear more. They offered to stay after school, to sacrifice their recess, their lunch period. They asked for our telephone and street numbers. They were greedy, voracious, and insatiable. Here were meat and drink.

Of the questions which these seventh- and eighth-grade children have asked in the past five years I have several hundreds on file. The interest ranges all the way from that of the little Negro girl who waited a full half hour on the school steps to ask, "Lady, was you really made from your father's rib?" to the most sophisticated of questions. A few will illustrate:

- Why are some children boys and others girls? (very frequent)
- Why does one woman have six children and another none?
- Why do some girls ministrade (the usual spelling) earlier than others?
- How does a baby come out of its mother?
- How do parents bring up the subject of wanting a baby?
- If you don't come sick at all, do you die?
- How can we ladies have babies that aren't married?
- If you aren't pretty, how can you attract a boy?

Is it proper to kiss a boy good-night?

Do you have to pet to be popular?

How does one get acquainted with boys?

If your parents won't let you date, what do you do?

The immediate result of such experiences is to set one thinking, and as one thinks one grows rebellious, even violently accusatory in one's mind against a society and against a system of public instruction which continues to ignore a fundamental human need. It is not only, one fumes to oneself, that human biology merits its own place in the scientific field along with all the rest. It is not alone that we shall satisfy an inner need of children which they, fumbling, seek to satisfy for themselves. It is also that through sex education we may help to salvage to normal human living boys and girls who without it would increase the ranks of sexual delinquents and fearsome neurotics.

Should a girl allow a man any privileges? Why? Why not?

If a girl does not have close union with a boy before she is nineteen will she go crazy?

Is it proper for an unmarried girl to deny pregnancy?

How can you get over a horror of intercourse?

A boy's touch makes me shiver. How can I get over my disgust?

These questions give one pause. They come straight from the midst of our public-school children.

But to return to the organization of sex teaching when in the hands of outside agencies, which have but limited facilities for carrying it on. The single lecture method to massed groups of segregated boys and girls was for them a far too disturbing experience. We gradually reconstructed our program and now meet each group two, and, when possible, three times in consecutive weeks so that the subject matter may have at least a little opportunity to fit itself into the children's minds during the intervals.

All questions are carefully answered. If judgment indicates that a question should not be answered openly, it is answered privately at the close of the hour. Sometimes a serious situation

such as incest is discovered. Such a child is asked to come to the social-hygiene office for personal advice and assistance. Massed grouping has been discarded for class-sized groups. Segregation is still retained. In the case of these younger adolescents who are so keenly aware of their opposites, so sensitive to sex impressions, segregation seems wisest. Besides, the physical maturing of girls needs detail which would be irksome and untimely for boys.

An effort is made, too, not always successfully, to interest some one teacher who is especially fitted to the task to carry on a bit of follow-up work: to answer further questions, direct reading, sponsor discussions—advise, encourage, inspire.

The greatest mistake adults have made in the past is to give sex instruction a physical monopoly. Boys and girls *are* interested in bodily functions, but they are much more interested in social functions—football, games, dances, hikes, skating parties—and in their feelings towards each other. In our junior-high-school classes we attempt to meet these spontaneous interests under three topics:

1. *Various Aspects of Physical Maturing.* Discussion of those phases of bodily development which often worry adolescents—menstruation, seminal emissions, lankiness and fat accumulation, awkwardness, skin eruptions—with suggestions on diet, sleep, rest, and exercise.

2. *Babies in the Making.* Here the young girls learn what many of their mothers do not know—how an individual is formed, the different stages of growth, mechanics of nutrition, and protection before birth.

In the hands of these children this subject leaps far beyond the expectation of the unwary and discloses a vast assortment of accumulated data bearing upon such topics as birthmarks, twins, incubators, freaks, midwives, cripples, congenital blindness—all of which give opportunity for much tidying up in the storehouse of young minds.

3. *The Social Life of Boys and Girls.* Both emotional and social factors are gathered together in a consideration of parties, dancing, dates, dress, hours of entertainment, petting, smoking.

The second strategic point for sex education in the high schools occurs just before graduation in the senior year. Here one is no longer confronted with children just emerging into adolescence. One has instead young men and women who are leaving classes behind them to take up the real business of living. These eighteen- and nineteen-year-old young people are miles ahead of their seventh- and eighth-grade selves of four or five years before. Their needs are personal and compelling. Some of them are engaged to be married, most of them are looking forward to marriage and with very searching minds. Love in all its emotional and sexual significance, the having of children, voluntary parenthood, homosexuality, hermaphrodites—no subject is absent from the repertory of their minds and all topics are discussed with perfect candor. Remember, they want to know everything—which means *everything* and again *everything*!

Under the department of home economics in two or three of the city high schools, I have initiated a six weeks' course in human reproduction for graduating girls in an attempt to integrate sex teaching into a class in homemaking. The drawback of this course was the lack of a corresponding course for senior boys or a course in which boys and girls could work out their problems together. A teacher of psychology tells me that at the point in his course with seniors when he expected to develop the subject of sexual impulse, he put the question to vote whether the class should study together or hold separate sessions. He explained that he was going into the biology and various phases of sex with considerable freedom. The class voted all but one for a continuation of the set-up of the class as it was. The one dissenting boy said he

felt he couldn't ever attend class if the girls were to be there. His personal feelings made it impossible. In the end, not to be conspicuous, he came and slunk sheepishly into a back seat. After the course was over he said to the instructor, "Coming to that class was the hardest thing I ever did in my life, but I wouldn't have missed it. I feel made over—free. Something that held me—bothered me and made me feel, well, indecent when with girls—is gone. Thanks for what you've done!"

Three of the talks to the home-economics seniors paralleled those given to the younger girls, and three additional ones, Development of the Sexual Impulse, Preparation for Marriage, and The Sex Education of Children offered entirely new material. All six talks, of course, were presented with fuller detail and from a point of view not possible with the younger students. As in the junior-high-school series, the senior girls found them stimulating in outlook, but tantalizing in brevity. Because of the greater maturity of the students, and the more personal character of the issues involved, these discussions made heavier demands on the speaker and on the subject matter than the talks to the younger groups had made. Instructor and students alike felt breathless, hurried, and unsatisfied. "We need more time!" "We could go on forever!" "There's so much to it!" Yes, there is.

For those girls whose problems were too personal for open discussion, a half-day of conferences was arranged at the close of the series. The girls came singly, in twos and threes—little inner groups that knew and shared each others' problems. Without the aid of crystal ball or turban, troubles big and little came to the surface. There was no probing, no detective work, no after-discussion with teachers, parents, or dean. The little inner room was sanctuary. As a result, loves were cemented, engagements blessed, marriages delayed, morals strengthened, fears allayed, hopes renewed, courage instilled.

The confidence that made such work possible is gained not by

solicitation, not by self-appointment, not by academic training and scientific equipment, but by a unique relationship with the students. All of which brings us sharply to the question, "Who shall carry on this work and how shall it be organized?" Shall we follow the same plan in the upper school that we follow in the lower school? Shall we integrate human reproduction into the various studies in which it occurs naturally so that it need no longer stand stripped of the sheltering arms of its kinsfolk—zoölogy, botany, and the rest? Will integration be sufficient after the adolescent age is reached?

I doubt it. The sexual impulse in itself is of too great significance, it strikes too deep into human emotions and human affairs for knowledge concerning it to be merely a by-product of other subjects. Sex education, like mental hygiene, is an entity in itself in spite of its dependence on many sciences. Like mental hygiene its tributaries flow in from many neighboring fields, but the tributaries themselves cannot do the work of the headwaters. Lest we injure the cause of a valued new venture let us not make the mistake of an unconsidered approach to it. In any high school where sex teaching is to be inaugurated, there is urgent need of a unifying agent—a liaison person—some one whose task would be to correlate the different aspects of the subject as they are presented in the various classrooms and laboratories.

With as many teachers touching upon isolated phases of sexual phenomena as there are departments in the school, I can foresee confusion worse confounded should all those differently attuned people once get started. Some one must be the orchestral director and bring unity out of diversity. Such a unifying agent would stand in relation to other teachers much as the supervisor or director of art, music, or drama stands in relation to them. She would be a specialized person with a specialized job. Upon her would fall not only the task of correlating the teaching throughout the school, but also the conducting of specific courses designed to

interpret and synthesize the whole subject and adapt its teaching to daily life situations. Such courses should rank as full-time studies.

The social hygienist is first of all a sociologist. He may be a biologist in training, he may speak in terms of germ plasm and hereditary traits, but he must see in terms of conduct. The supervisor of sex education in the schools has his laboratory in the social rooms, the gamerooms (are there such?), and the athletic field. There he must see his teaching take tangible form and give testimony of its worth in the socialized behavior between boys and girls.

This threefold job of supervisor, teacher, and social leader requires a person who can bring to his work insight, sympathy, resourcefulness, and a very personable exterior. He has studied extensively in many fields; he is emotionally adjusted to his own sex life. There are at present, here and there, a considerable number of such men and women already active in the field of sex education with and without title or salary or visible reward. There are others equally endowed with the personal qualities who have but to lend themselves to a period of study and training.

No, we need not be afraid of public-school sex education in the hands of such men and women. We need not be afraid of parental criticism. We need not be afraid of the effect upon the children. I am afraid of only one thing. I am afraid that you schoolpeople who read this magazine and others which contain articles on sex education will close them all again and put them away in your files, until they too become musty-fusty and forgotten.

Did I say I was afraid? No, I am not afraid, if we will all act together now and with united effort put sex education into the curriculum of the public school.

SEX ADJUSTMENT OF COLLEGE MEN AND WOMEN

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Although it would be an exaggeration to interpret the sex problems of college men and women as essentially different from those representative of other American youth at the same age period, the sex adjustments of the college group do have distinctive features. They result in part from the character of the men and women who go to the colleges and the universities, but in far greater degree from the experiences that come with the carrying of study beyond the high school. This does not mean that among college students we find problems of sex adjustment not to be encountered elsewhere but rather that some are common enough on the campus to be considered distinctive.

The college group is committed to the postponement of marriage. There are, of course, exceptions. Very few students are already married, and many more are not so much delaying marriage as ignoring the subject altogether. Excluding these two groups, we have the large class that is deliberately accepting a program of marriage postponement. Part of these young people already have chosen mates and look forward to marrying as soon as they are graduated or as soon as they are economically well enough established to justify their starting a home of their own. Although those who have found the persons whom they wish to marry chafe most from the necessity of deferring marriage, both types feel the emotional unrest that comes from living a life contrary to their desire. There is a multitude of noncollege men and women also postponing marriage, but they are not as likely to feel that they are making a sacrifice as a consequence of a program that they have deliberately accepted. The noncollege man or woman is more apt to consider himself or herself a victim of

circumstances, either not earning enough to be married or not having yet found the right person.

Within the college group there is constant temptation to question the program that has been adopted from necessity to continue education. As a consequence, these students, who at times protest emotionally against their way of living, feel that their sex problems are unique and arbitrary. To insist that this is the typical reaction of college men and women would be again to exaggerate, but it is too prevalent to be ignored by those who seek to understand the sex-adjustment problems in college life.

A college man or woman who is pushing aside the thought of marrying is likely also to be developing standards of life that may operate later either to postpone marriage or to make it somewhat more difficult than it would otherwise be. These standards are often taken over with little thought; they may even remain unformed in consciousness, but they are none the less substantial once marriage occurs. It is not necessary that the individual's situation on the campus lead to the building of habits in accord with these standards, although this is frequent. College life in itself tends to create ideals, and the standards looked forward to may be goals rather than experiences already attained. These standards cannot be confined merely to physical or material circumstances. They are even more emotional and intellectual and make demands of the person chosen as a life mate just as certainly as experiences of comfort and luxury do of the social and home environment.

If college life leads also to considerable isolation from members of the opposite sex, this tendency towards expectation in the future is made all the greater, and at the same time there is the loss of experiences that come through the normal association of young men and women and that protect from idealization. In cases not a few, it would seem more precise to say that these college men and women run risk of forming false notions of life—

their outlook is so immature—than to credit them with the forming of high standards. Whichever description fits the expectations of the individual, we know that somewhere in the future there must be a considerable emotional replacement of emphasis or marriage will bring disappointment. Colleges and universities, by their atmosphere and policies, sometimes encourage youth, if not to demand too much of life, at least, it may be said, to distort the values that bring satisfaction. And, strangely enough, this can come about by the emphasis placed upon what the college chooses to call *idealism*. In so far as the college unnecessarily isolates the man or woman from contact with members of the opposite sex, there is given added stimulus to this trend towards excessive emotional avariciousness. It is here that the coeducational institution has advantage over the segregated institution which offers the greater hazard, but the disposition of the individual is more influential than the policy of the college.

No one can be acquainted with the reactions of alumni, especially of women graduates, without knowing that some charge their alma mater with responsibility for their not marrying. They become firmly convinced that they were encouraged to form segregated ideals or make unreasonable demands during the period when they should have been thinking of their need of a mate. Undoubtedly much of this thinking is of the nature of rationalization and reveals unwillingness to accept personal responsibility for the disappointments that life finally brought. Their criticism, however, cannot be dismissed as having no foundation. Campus life does have suggestions that build expectations into sensitive students that hamper marriage or make family problems more difficult than they need to be.

In interpreting the significance of the postponement of marriage on the part of college men and women, it is necessary to remember that these youth are also more in contact with liberal ideas than is true of other groups. The institution of higher learn-

ing is necessarily liberalizing as compared with the average family life from which the student comes. The mere existence of an intellectual life, which includes various specialties and different outlooks upon life, and nearly always influential personalities that are either aggressive or especially winsome, tends to open the mind and lessen the force of prejudice and tradition. Even in institutions that seem relatively lacking in intellectual stimulus, there are incitements towards more critical and tolerant reactions than are common in the average community. The fact that these sometimes take the temporary form of "puppy" radicalism, followed quickly by conservatism as the individual enters upon a business or professional career must not conceal the significance of this trend as it influences the sex life of college youth.

Undoubtedly there are many communities in which the sex behavior of young people is more lax than at college and in which vice flourishes as in no college community, but, on the other hand, there is apt to be on the campus more familiarity with unconventional theories of sex conduct. These are frequently discussed when in the privacy of their rooms students indulge in a talk fest and conversation drifts towards something connected with sex. Many things need to be remembered in any attempt to interpret the meaning of these "bull sessions." They serve as outlet for emotional restlessness, opportunity for argument, occasionally for shock of the unsophisticated, and also, in some degree, they serve as an exchange of serious thinking. As one would expect, various solutions for sex and marriage problems are advanced, defended, and criticized. Until recently companionate marriage, as it was popularly misunderstood, served as a favorite topic. Trial marriage, divorce by mutual consent, and the notion that sex conduct is a private affair are theories that are discussed pro and con.

In all this talking there is more sublimation than the uninformed critic would suppose. It does not at all follow that those

who advocate most earnestly some unconventional solution for problems of sex, courtship, and marriage are committed to the practices they defend. When all these differences of motives are recognized, it still remains true that the college group is exposed more than any other to unconventional schemes of sex adjustment. On the other hand, although it is difficult to compare periods, it seems safe to say that there never was a time in the memory of any graduate when prostitution was less favored as a way of escape from the sex tension of the college years. Whatever else may be true, there certainly has developed a more hostile public opinion towards exploiting of others as a means of personal sex pleasure. This is in spite of the fact that there is, on the whole, a decided unwillingness to interfere with other people's behavior. It is not the disposition to coerce others but the prevailing sentiment of hostility to the thing itself which is lessening prostitution.

It is most unfair in criticism of college life not to recognize the advancement that has been made in recent years in the maturity of campus behavior. This becomes all the more significant when one takes into account the widespread feeling on the part of college students that they ought not to become judges of the behavior of their fellows, and also that these students, no older in the mass in years than their predecessors of fifty years ago, are away from home during the most turbulent period of the human career. A great number of noncollege youths, if they find employment, still live with their parents or at least remain in the same neighborhood. They are sensitive to public opinion, representing for the most part conventional adult attitudes, and are certainly not free in the way that college students are. Not only is the college body free from home ties in a way that is not true of any other group of youth; he is also a member of a community of young people nearly all of whom are in the same situation as himself. There are parents who feel the danger of this, especially when they have done nothing to give their boy or girl prep-

aration for the ordeal, and who demand that the college assume a tutelage that, with the best of intentions, is seldom effective and always brings danger of defeating the maturing purposes of college education.

It is impossible to understand the sex-adjustment problems of college youth unless one keeps in mind the personality types found at college that are likely to have the most trouble. There are many sensitive persons, even highly strung. A considerable proportion of these, including some of the most brilliant students, must be classified as neurotic. In addition, we have those who are using college as a means of escape from life's responsibilities for which they feel insufficient. Others have gone to college for the purpose of gaining insight that will prepare them to cope with life.

Although it is easy to exaggerate their seriousness, taken as a group college men and women are more conscious of their needs and more willing to face their emotional conflicts than are most youth. The institution of higher learning that accepts the responsibility of preparing these men and women for life cannot, in fairness, ignore the sex part of the student's life, since it influences campus success and later adult character. The institution also cannot properly function in helping young people mature if sex problems are interpreted narrowly. The emotional aspect of sexual development must have consideration as well as the ethics of physical sex. Merely to establish prohibitions and penalties for overt acts of immorality is not an honest or constructive way of meeting the responsibilities of the institution. It is true that we cannot ask the college to become a higher type of reform school, nor even an organization that provides special opportunities for those who need reëducation in the psychiatric sense. The better equipped and more forward-looking institutions do attempt to provide counsel, and in some degree personality analysis for those who have special need of help, and in any form of counseling sex

problems appear frequently. No one can reasonably ask that the college become a psychopathic institute for the salvage of personalities in trouble.

There are, however, responsibilities for the sexual guidance and maturing of students that do belong to the institution of higher learning. They are rightly expected to do their utmost to keep the campus environment wholesome and constructive along all lines that influence the sex thinking and practices of the students. This task has its unpleasant disciplinary side. College faculties and college administrations rarely are accused of laxity or leniency in dealing with campus offenses of sex character. These problems often get great publicity once they are known on the outside, but it is safe to say that no other group of young people of the same age and size would furnish so few cases of discipline as does the American student body. No institution, however, can claim to be doing its full duty if content merely to penalize or eliminate those persons who are known to be guilty of sex immorality. The more important function of the institution is to furnish what best can be described by the word *atmosphere*. The institution that fails to accomplish this soon finds itself forced to deal with sex as expressed in ways most troublesome to a college administration. In this creating of a wholesome atmosphere, the life of the institution as a whole counts heavily. The right atmosphere cannot come from giving attention merely to sex problems but results rather from developing a high morale in all aspects of student life.

One way of contributing to this, and at the same time giving more adequate preparation for adult life, is through instruction. So far as sex is concerned this may come from various departments and may be made an incident in courses dealing primarily with other matters. These scattered references to sex, often revealing specialized interests and even the personal reactions of the instructors, do not provide an adequate educational program.

There is also great need of a course, adapted to the senior level, that deals precisely and scientifically with the major problems of marriage. Not only is it sound educational policy to attempt to furnish youth, who are later likely to become social leaders, with a background that will help them make their own marriages a success, but there is also the advantage of maturing and intellectualizing the sex interest that is usually at flood tide during the later college years.

The blanket of taboos still shadows our feeling and thinking about sex in its educational aspects. This alone explains the great neglect of marriage in our program of higher education. Pre-literate people, more conscious of the social significance of sex and marriage than we have been, attempted better, even though what they had to offer youth was meager in content. Only of late has science, with any sincerity, directed its effort towards an understanding of the problems of sex and mating that have become even more important for us than they were in simpler stages of culture. There is the greatest need of distributing this recent information, gathered by science, and the best opportunity for doing this is furnished by our institutions of higher learning.

A course in marriage should neither limit itself to sex nor ignore it. It helps the student in dealing with his immediate problems of physical sex and of courtship while at college to have sex so interpreted that it becomes a part of the larger complex of marriage. When we remember that Herbert Spencer protested against this neglect of instruction for marriage, it seems strange that this preparation for life has come so slowly. When we consider, however, the strength of former taboos, it is remarkable that it is developing in the United States so rapidly. It will not solve all sex problems nor guarantee marriage happiness to every student, but it is the most helpful contribution that colleges and universities can make to the sex character and emotional maturity of the men and women that come under their influence.

SEX EDUCATION AS A COMMUNITY PROBLEM

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Much confusion exists as to the meaning of sex education. To many it means only the telling of the story of life origins to children. To others it implies giving facts about the reproductive function and sex hygiene. To still others it connotes instruction about venereal diseases. For another group it includes information about the physical adjustments of marriage and about child-bearing. And for a limited number it denotes a much broader education, including the foregoing factors and many others, but with emphasis on conduct rather than on instruction.

Yet, to the educator, a definition of sex education should be at once apparent. If education is that process, combined of fact-giving, interpretations, setting of ideals, and guidance, which helps the individual meet his life situations, sex education should be the similar process that helps the individual meet those situations in which sex is an important factor. Because there are two sexes mingling with much freedom in family and society from the cradle to the grave, these sex situations appear during the whole life of the individual. Thanks to such influences as sex differences, physical makeup, emotional development, social opportunity, nearly equal division of the sexes, regional and family attitudes towards sex conduct and marital standards, ability to adjust to the other sex, and many other influences, these sex situations are many and varied, at times unimportant, at others startling and critical, and their effects are woven into the pattern of the individual's life so markedly as to help stamp his personality.

Directly affecting the way one meets these varying situations are one's developing sex impulses and the rather rigid sex standards of one's social groups. Satisfaction of the sex impulse as

part of one's self-expression may run counter to these standards, and a conflict may ensue. It is the task of sex education to help the individual so to direct his sex impulse as to give him the satisfactions of a rich expression of his own personality and at the same time to furnish outlets that do not bring him into serious conflicts with social standards.

This is no easy task. Individuals differ widely in personality and in what constitutes its satisfactory expression. Sex impulses differ quite as widely, in some persons being the most powerful drive in their lives and always making self-control exceedingly difficult; in others never arousing the individual to the point where conformity to the social code is a problem and at times, for this reason, creating in him a critical inferiority complex; while in between these types are countless varieties of sexual impulsiveness. Social standards differ equally, varying with family, clique, neighborhood, community, region, race, sect, or any other form of social group. A person brought up according to one standard encounters another equally compelling and confusion may result. Moreover, standards about sex conduct change, as they are changing today. What was condemned yesterday may become tolerated today and accepted as normal tomorrow. The youth of any community, more or less aware of these conflicting factors, their marriage delayed several years beyond sexual maturity because of inadequate finances or extended education, are challenging these standards openly and demanding scientific evidence of their soundness. It is one of the tasks of sex education to give to youth the best scientific information and sexual ethics now available, on the basis of which they may make their choices of conduct and build social standards. Any program less broad will not help the individual meet his sex situations satisfactorily.

Yet, fortunately for the educator, personality is developed over a period of years, and sex situations are met one at a time. Experience shows that, as with other types of education, incidents

met in the early years, when they are fewer and less difficult, fashion techniques for meeting later and more complex ones. Hence, for the most part, sex education is both a graded and a gradual process. It is coming to be clear, even from our limited experience in formal sex education, that, with allowances for personal variations, for each age-period of the growing individual certain facts, habits, and attitudes are ordinarily helpful in meeting his sex situations.¹ This material, based on the needs of the developing personality, is gradually forming the basis for a content of sex education. Obviously this content must include far more than the commonly accepted limitations of information about sex hygiene or puberal development or the results of wrong sex conduct, however important this information may be at a given time. It should include the facts, interpretations, ideals, and guidance that help the individual to satisfactory sex conduct. Hence the essence of sex education is the appropriate direction of the sex impulse of the individual to conduct satisfactory both to himself and to society.

Sex education is of vital concern to the community. Its courts, jails, institutions, and hospitals are crowded with those who have failed in social adjustment from lack of such education.² Its clinics are thronged with venereal patients who suffer because of wrong sex education. Its family courts attempt to make marital adjustments the foundations for which should have been laid in childhood and youth. Its social workers, ministers, doctors, and lawyers are wrestling with problems which wise sex education could have prevented. Its youth, keenly aware of sex in their

¹ T. W. Galloway, *A Formula for Sex Education*, Publication No. 778; Bigelow Snow and Judy Bond, *High Points of the Conference on Education for Marriage and Family Social Relations*, Publication No. 900 (New York: American Social Hygiene Association, 1934).

² S. S. Glueck and E. Glueck, *Five Hundred Delinquent Women* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934), 539 pp.

M. Van Winters, *Youth in Conflict* (New York: Republic Publishing Company, 1925), 293 pp.

lives, find it amazingly easy to acquire unsound information and practices but very difficult to get scientific facts and satisfying standards. Its homemakers need the stability and assurance that come from appreciation of the difficulties and opportunities of homemaking and from guidance in family living.

The size of the educational task, and the limited contacts that any one educational agency can make, mean that perforce it becomes a community concern if each individual is to receive the sex education he is entitled to. No one agency can do the work alone, though each can contribute a share and can reinforce and supplement the efforts of the others. And it will take planning on a community basis to see that no person is neglected and that his sex education is adequate.

It has long been popularly supposed that education about sex and sex conduct is above all the job of the home, and many community leaders asseverate that homes alone should be permitted to undertake this "important and delicate task." But what evidence is available⁸ indicates that factually and emotionally the general run of parents are not equipped to handle sex situations with their children. A growing number can manage the mother's part in reproduction but most leave the father's part to street interpretations and vocabulary. And when it comes to such matters as reinterpreting the street wholesomely, giving the elementary differences between the sexes, setting fine examples of sex conduct, and facing childhood or adolescent masturbation with equanimity, many parents cannot deal with these matters at all, or at best but feebly. If it were merely a technique of acquiring facts and vocabulary, most parents could make good their deficiencies. But so many parents are blocked by habits of emotional response built up during many years, and these responses cannot easily be changed. While those parents who want to change them are struggling to do so, their children grow up and

⁸ White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The Adolescent in the Family* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1934), pp. 192-211.

get their interpretations elsewhere, and it becomes increasingly difficult for parents to reassume the task of sex education. And while willing and able parents are being adequately trained, their children do not stop living until the necessary parent training is achieved. A community program of sex education demands that parents shall be educated as rapidly as possible but that the community shall not rely on this resource alone.

It must frankly be recognized that the school often has better opportunities for sex education than has the average home, and, given the right teacher, can usually do a better job than the parent. Schools deal with more children, handle more problems, are skilled in technique of teaching and guidance. The school atmosphere encourages the learning process. The teacher-child relationship is less personal than that between parent and child. The teacher is looked to as a factual authority more frequently than is the average parent, a situation increasingly true in the adolescent years. And there are teachers in many schools who have the poise and the needed factual background that most parents do not have.

The school has the following opportunities⁴ in sex education: (1) inclusion of appropriate materials in school courses, such as nature study, biology, general science, health and physical education, social science, home economics, ethics, and literature. The unit on family relationships in courses of home economics is rapidly becoming one of the best vehicles for such materials, and effective textbooks⁵ are now available. (2) A special course, in grade eleven or twelve, on preparation for family life. (3) Maintaining a high tradition of boy-girl conduct both within and without the school. (4) Keeping the way open to conferences on per-

⁴*Coöperation of Home and School in Guiding Boy-Girl Conduct* (Washington, D. C.: National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1934).

⁵Ernest R. Groves, Edna L. Skinner, and Sadie J. Swenson, *The Family and Its Relationships* (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1932), 321 pp.

L. T. Dennis, *Living Together in the Family* (Washington, D. C.: American Home Economics Association, 1934), 187 pp.

sonal problems. (5) Heading off situations that are likely to become problems. (6) Provision for handling difficult sex situations constructively. (7) A wide range of extracurricular activities that furnish opportunities for many and wholesome boy-girl contacts within and without the school. (8) Parent conferences on boy-girl conduct problems. (9) Stimulation of parent-teacher associations to discuss sex education and the coöperative rôles of home and school in the matter.⁶

Because of hesitant parent attitudes and the importance of sex education to boys and girls, the school should undertake projects only with care and suitable personnel. Guided projects in sex education are as possible as in any other phase of education. Once parents are persuaded that the school can do an effective job, they are nearly always ready to coöperate, as long experience shows.

The university, college, and normal college have even more extensive opportunities than the school or home. They deal with students at the mate-seeking age who are spurred to secure sound information in an atmosphere of academic freedom. When college authorities have vision, students may become oriented to a sex ethics that augurs well for sound conduct before marriage and after. Among successful college practices⁷ in this field are inclusion of appropriate materials in freshmen orientation courses; special lecture series, elective or required, and open to special groups; inclusion of appropriate materials in courses given by the departments of biology, health and physical education, psychology, sociology and social work, home economics, educational philosophy, and religion; special courses, such as those on marriage, the modern American family, principles and practice of

⁶ T. W. Galloway, *Human Nature Studies for the Early Grades*, Publication No. 613, *Sex Character Education in the Junior High School*, Publication No. 614, *Social Hygiene in Health Education for Junior High Schools*, Publication No. 615 (New York: American Social Hygiene Association, 1929).

⁷ T. W. Galloway, *The Colleges and Sex Education*, Publication No. 620 (New York: American Social Hygiene Association, 1927).

sex education, social hygiene, etc.; suitable library materials and service; effective counseling service on personal problems; adequate health examinations and service; intelligent provision of a wide range of mixed social activities that will furnish many and wholesome contacts between men and women. The extension of sex education among higher educational institutions is increasing, but as yet in many it touches only a few students. And there are many youth in the community not reached by the college.

The church has long been interested in marriage and the family and is beginning to waken to its opportunities and responsibilities in educating for it. Some churches are now undertaking such phases of sex education as these: (1) interpretations through pulpit, lectures, and forums; (2) lecture-discussion series for the premarried or the young married; (3) library and reading service; (4) parent-education classes which include parent techniques in sex education; (5) inclusion of appropriate materials in church school classes; (6) provision for counseling on personal problems, both of the married and the unmarried.⁸ Although the church reaches limited numbers, it can give a high sanction for sex conduct that no other community agency can quite equal. There is some evidence that churches of various faiths and denominations are rising to these opportunities in greater numbers.⁹

Because sex problems crowd in on youth, they have made demands for help from agencies serving them. Thus some Christian¹⁰ and Hebrew associations have for years provided lecture-discussion series on preparation for marriage or talks about relationships of the sexes as a part of the programs for their vari-

⁸ N. W. Edson, "Family Adjustments Through Consultation Service," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, XVIII, 4 (April 1932), pp. 198-211.

⁹ Committee on Marriage and the Home of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, *Building the Christian Family: A Program for Churches* (New York: Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1934).

¹⁰ The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association has a part-time secretary on this educational problem.

ous age groups. A few associations supply reading materials, and still fewer arrange for personal counseling. The agencies serving the puberal age group have ventured less surely, although certain Scout leaders have included human reproduction in nature study and Campfire leaders have dealt with puberal development. These experiments need the encouragement and counsel of professional educators, especially in the matter of leader training. These youth-serving agencies are in a strategic position to supplement efforts of home, school, and church in sex education, often reaching persons not otherwise influenced and providing rare opportunities through noncurricular training and courageous leadership.

In the same way welfare institutions, especially homes for boys and girls, can make program provisions for educating their members to sound sex behavior. Instruction, singly or in groups, a supply of suitable reading materials, personal counseling, and provision for wholesome boy-girl activities are the methods most commonly used. In this field leader training is especially important and at present not frequently given, and more concrete program opportunities need to be worked out. These institutions, especially those for transient youth, can reach many individuals not otherwise provided for in the community.

Social agencies have equally strategic chances at sex education. The social worker or nurse¹¹ can as a part of her routine tell children about a coming baby, instruct the mother in her sex educational tasks, explain to puberal girl or boy their impending development and its significance in conduct, and deftly head aright the love-struck youth or wayward maid. Her work is not spectacular, but it is often far more effective than the formal education of other community agencies. Nor should there be omitted the chance of the recreation leader to teach boys and girls to play

¹¹ New Haven (Conn.) Visiting Nurse Association, "Sex Education as Applied to the Child Health Service," *Public Health Nursing*, XXVI, 11 (November 1934), pp. 621-624.

together.¹² Social workers are sensing their opportunities and are demanding the sorts of preparation that will help them meet practical emergencies. Especially do they need help and encouragement, for they so frequently have to deal with problems arising from the failures of other agencies in sex education and requiring reëducation of the most difficult sort.

Some children, notably youth in industry, get no sex education through existing agencies, though such youth are often on the threshold of marriage and especially need guidance. Industry has not yet accepted responsibility for education, except occasionally technical education, so if these youth are to be reached, the community must make provision to train them. Community leaders face some challenging problems in this area. One way to meet the situation might be to get men's service clubs to subsidize a part- or full-time worker to develop programs among these youth, but one who seeks them out rather than waiting for them to come for education.

Counseling on marital and sex problems has sprung up under various auspices and appears to be serving a useful purpose. Commonly such counseling has become a supplementary service to church, university, hospital, court, Christian association, birth-control clinic, child-guidance clinic, social-hygiene committee, or social agency. In some cases it is under private auspices or an endowment. Communities are finding such services an excellent aid to sex education.

Experience indicates that where a community committee is set up, it can help coördinate interests and stimulate educational efforts of various agencies. Since social hygiene is vitally interested not only in stamping out venereal disease and in controlling prostitution but also in training for sound sex conduct as both a preventive and a constructive measure, local social-hygiene com-

¹²M. J. Breen, *Partners in Play: Recreation for Young Men and Women Together* (New York: National Recreation Association, 1934), 130 pp.

mittees¹⁸ have usually been active in fostering sex education. With some variations, their efforts have been centered on stimulating the various community agencies to adequate activity in this field, encouraging their efforts, helping with leader training and library aids, informing the public, and developing a coöperative community spirit in this endeavor. These social-hygiene committees have experimented widely with sex education as a community problem. Their experience should be helpful to those who are facing the educational challenges of the community.

¹⁸ *Suggestions for Organizing a Community Social Hygiene Program* (New York: American Social Hygiene Association, 1934).

ADOLESCENCE: PSYCHOSIS OR SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT?

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH AND L. VIRGIL PAYNE

Popular and scientific opinion of the problems of adolescence are shot through with misconceptions. Since programs of sex education and counseling are focussed upon adolescence, it is worth while to consider, in discussing such programs, the true nature of the adolescent period and of the problems of adjustment which are tied up with it. Such consideration is necessary to the achievement of a true perspective on sex education and what we may hope from it.

Adolescence is described, in the current literature, as a seething period of internal turmoil and external strife. Educators, psychologists, physicians, and judges of juvenile courts agree that adolescence is a chaotic period of development. Underlying most contemporary discussion of the problems of adolescence is the assumption that the emotional instability and erratic behavior of the adolescent is but the mental and social projection of the physiological changes we know as puberty.

"This," concludes Phyllis Blanchard, "is a difficult period because the physical changes going on in the bodies of our pubescent boys and girls have definite emotional concomitants which result in erratic behavior."¹ Jessie Taft comments: "The adolescence that occurs without stress and strain is too unusual to be called normal."² Even more uncompromisingly, Tiebout states: "Conflict in the adolescent is unavoidable. While this conflict is going on certain traits of adolescence such as instability, moodiness, rebelliousness, extreme happiness, and extreme unhappi-

¹Phyllis Blanchard, *The Adolescent Girl* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company 1924), p. 15.

²Jessie Taft, "Mental Hygiene Problems of Normal Adolescence," *Mental Hygiene*, October 1921.

ness are bound to appear. Nothing can be done to prevent their coming to the surface."³

Healy, out of a long experience with maladjusted adolescents, goes further: "It is as if the excitation of the physical organism was carried into the mental sphere. The line of demarcation between the normal and the aberrational during the adolescent period is very difficult to maintain. There is hardly a symptom which the psychiatrist names as a beginning evidence of adolescent insanities but is to be met with as a temporary condition in many adolescents who never have a psychosis. . . . Even in the ordinary case there is an amount of storm and stress accompanying the remarkable new growth and new experiences of puberty which may have strikingly definite connection with the production of moral twists."⁴

Cyril Burt, pointing out the association between adolescence and delinquency, states: "In the normal physical development of the healthy boy or girl the most critical period is puberty, and the connection at this time of change with juvenile delinquency is commonly demonstrated by charting a growth curve, as it were, for human crime,"⁵ while Goldberg, Steadman, and others point to the fact that the onset of many of the more serious mental disorders is most frequent during the adolescent years.

Indeed, adolescence would seem to be a temporary psychosis, analogous to a post-partum insanity, following upon the pervasive physiological readjustments of the organism that are associated with pubescence. This is a plausible enough hypothesis, particularly in the light of our increasing knowledge of the functions of the endocrine glands and their influence upon mood, stability, and behavior. At puberty, a new hormone begins to be secreted. The endocrines are an interlocking system of control.

³Harry Ticbout, "Untying Apron Strings," *Parents Magazine*, February 1929.

⁴William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company 1929), pp. 711, 336.

⁵Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1931), p. 210.

The equilibrium of this system is disturbed by the new hormone. The system must readjust, stabilize itself. Meantime, the new hormone results in pervasive changes in the growth and functioning of the other organic systems.

The rapidity of growth and change characteristic of puberty has frequently been compared with that of gestation and early infancy. It is as though, as Rousseau phrased it, "We are born twice, once to exist and once to live; once as to species and again in regard to sex." That this rebirth should be reflected in the mental and emotional life and social adjustment of the adolescent seems likely enough. It has been accepted as the explanation of adolescent *sturm und drang*.

The implications of this point of view are far-reaching and of considerable social consequence. Mothers and teachers are warned that children will present special problems at this time, that these problems cannot be avoided, that as the body changes from that of a child to that of an adult so inevitably will the spirit change and that stormily. Just as a mother must fortify herself against the crying of the baby when it cuts its first tooth, so she must prepare herself for and endure as gracefully as possible the unlovely, turbulent manifestations of this awkward age. This point of view has well nigh paralyzed parental effort and has aborted any constructive educational approach to the problems of adolescence. Consequently, it is pertinent to inquire whether this assumption is founded upon established scientific fact.

If this assumption is true, we should find the strain and stress of adolescence following upon puberty among all children and in all civilizations. There have been occasional students of adolescence who have felt that we have assimilated to our concept of what is normal development in this period a distorted picture derived from experience in clinic and court with maladjusted and problem children. Thorndike long since expressed the opinion that in perhaps the majority of instances adolescence is a

gradual adjustment to the demands of adult living and unaccompanied by the turbulent behavior so generally attributed to it. Developmental studies of children in general would seem to be confirming his contention.

Other students of adolescence, notably Leta Stetter Hollingworth, have felt that where adolescence proves turbulent, the explanation lies in the adolescent's emotional reaction to the adjustive demands of this period, rather than in the physiological changes that accompany it. Agnes Conklin has well expressed this point of view. "What is 'adolescence'? A complicated matter surely. But when analyzed it turns out to be a measure of how well home and school have prepared the child to meet life. The period is one in which the child is making the transition from dependence upon the family to reliance on self. If he adapts badly, and is all at loose ends, we say he is 'adolescent'—as if so labeling him explained his difficulties. There are children who have no 'adolescence' because they have been prepared for this transition. When the weaning from dependence takes place painfully, the child must be reconditioned for independence. If he is not so reconditioned, he manifests a fumbling form of adaptation, is disturbed and maladjusted in a variety of ways, and is called 'adolescent.' "

Adolescence is a crisis in social adjustment. In our Western civilization many of the major demands of life are made upon the adolescent within a few years. He must achieve self-direction. He must make a vocational choice. He must adjust to our pattern of sex behavior. He must achieve, from our welter of conflicting values, a satisfying philosophy of life. As these demands crowd in upon him, his maturity is put to a severe test. If he has been helped, by home and school, to achieve adequate means of meeting life's demands, he will adjust. But if home and school have left him overdependent, insecure, with a sense of anxiety or guilt, with immature ways of meeting difficult situations, he will fail

to adjust. His failure to adjust will involve emotional disturbance which will show itself in various types of symptomatic behavior. It is this symptomatic behavior which we call "adolescence."

Here we have a very different approach to the problems of adolescence, an approach that throws a tremendous responsibility upon home, school, and society. If this interpretation of adolescent instability is correct, the difficulties our adolescent youth have in the years following puberty—the emotional stress, the stormy resentment, the erratic behavior that result from these difficulties—are the measure of our failure to prepare our youth to meet the demands of adult living.

Margaret Mead, curator of ethnology of the American Museum of Natural History, has put this point of view to an ingenious test. As sociology and ethnology have rounded out our knowledge of human behavior, we are becoming increasingly cautious as to the patterns of behavior we attribute to "human nature." One after another, the forms of behavior we have been accustomed to attribute to human nature have turned out, as we have broadened our perspective by observing peoples who have built cultures different from our own, to be merely the products of our Western civilization.

Mindful of this, Dr. Mead asked herself: Are the disturbances which vex our adolescents due to the nature of adolescence, or to the culture in which our adolescents are reared? Under other cultural conditions would adolescence present a different picture? Are the conflict and turmoil said to be characteristic of adolescence due to being adolescent, or to being adolescent in our Western civilization? As an answer to these questions, Dr. Mead proposed to study adolescence in a civilization quite different from our own, holding human nature constant while letting the environing culture vary. If the stresses and maladjustments of adolescence are the product of the physiological changes

accompanying puberty, then we should find them characteristic of the behavior of the adolescent in any civilization.

Dr. Mead chose Samoa as the social laboratory for this experiment. In Samoa children pass through the same developmental stages as in America—cutting their first teeth and losing them, cutting their second teeth, growing tall and ungainly, reaching puberty, maturing physiologically, becoming ready to produce the next generation. But in Samoa this development takes place in a very different culture—a culture which for thousands of years has followed a pattern of development divergent from our own. Are inner turmoil and overt conflict characteristic of adolescence in this different culture? They are not. Samoan youth, almost uniformly, pass from puberty to maturity without the storm and stress we think of as characteristically adolescent.

In a fascinating story of this experiment, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Dr. Mead has analyzed the differences between Samoan and American culture which she believes account for this fact. In the first place, the Samoan child grows up in a family—if it can be called a family—very different from our own. It is a large, loosely knit group, involving all degrees of relationship. From the first months of life, the child is passed from the hands of one woman to another. Relationships within the group are casual. The child never builds up close emotional ties with a particular adult. Authority is diffused. The child never becomes involved in personal conflicts with adults, never builds up personal resentments. As a result the child emerges from the family without crippling dependencies or resentments, breaks away from the family without conflict.

In the second place, in Samoa the child is not suddenly thrown out into the community, during the years of puberty, to make his own way, to shift for himself. Finding a vocational niche is no problem, involves no period of insecurity. From the earliest years, the child is gradually, as his strength and self-direction

permit, inducted into the productive economic life of the community.

Again, the Samoan child reaches puberty with complete knowledge of sex, and with no apparent feeling of guilt concerning sex. Sex relationships are emotionally casual, nor are they specialized upon a particular person. Sex behavior is not hidden and veiled in shame. The sex life of the community is an open book for the child to read. Pubertal development and sexual maturity result neither in shock nor in problems of personal adjustment.

Finally, the Samoan cultural pattern is relatively simple and homogeneous. The adolescent is not confronted with a bewildering array of conflicting values. His choices are few and easily made. Self-orientation to the meaning of life is no problem. It involves no self-questioning, no feeling of inadequacy, no doubt.

Dr. Mead's experiment would seem to answer, fairly conclusively, the question we have raised. In the light of her findings we are confirmed in our belief that the behavior so characteristic of our adolescents is not a necessary emotional and social projection of the physiological changes of puberty, but is rather a reflection of our pattern of civilization which makes of adolescence a major crisis of social adjustment. We can, perhaps, do little about the structure of our civilization, which makes of adolescence a crisis. But we can do much to prepare our youth to meet this crisis.

By no means least of what we can do, we can give our growing children an adequate knowledge of and a healthy attitude towards sex. Sex education will not solve the problems of adolescence. Many of our youth will fail to meet the demands of adult living for reasons other than sex ignorance. But unhealthy sex attitudes are intimately interwoven with the pattern of our civilization. Sex education and counseling can do much to eradicate these unhealthy attitudes. In eradicating them, one of the major hazards of adolescence will have been removed.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

A SURVEY OF RECREATION AND DELINQUENCY OF BOYS¹

A survey of recreation and delinquency of boys between the ages of 8 and 17 is being made in south Chicago under the direction of Raymond Nelson and is being supervised by Professor E. W. Burgess. The area being surveyed is bounded by 79th Street on the north, Lake Michigan and the Indiana State line on the east, 138th Street on the south, and Stony Island Avenue on the west.

The present survey is being made with the idea of checking the results of a previous survey of the same kind which showed that (1) of 10,000 boys, about 42 per cent engaged in recreation at the institutions studied; (2) three times as many of the nonparticipating boys as of the participating ones were delinquent; (3) the delinquent boys who utilized the recreational facilities spent a larger amount of time per month there and also per visit.

RESEARCH AT THE CHRISTMAS MEETINGS

The Christmas meetings of the American Sociological Society,² which were devoted to the general topic "Human Problems of Social Planning," gave a large emphasis to research. Among the papers in which research in its various aspects was discussed were the following:

"The General Development and Present Status of the FERA Research Program," Howard B. Myers, Assistant Director, Research Statistics and Finance, FERA

"Some Characteristics of An Emergency Research Program," Clark Tibbitts, Coördinator of Urban Research, FERA

"The Contribution of Research to Rural Relief Problems," Dwight Sanderson, Coördinator of Rural Research, FERA

"State and Local Statistical Studies Conducted as Work Relief Projects," Frederick F. Stephan, Coördinator of Statistical Projects, FERA

¹*Bulletin of the Society for Social Research*, December 1934, page 4.

²Held at the Hotel Morrison, Chicago, Illinois, December 26 to 29, 1934.

"The Development of Research in Rural Sociology" (from the research project point of view), T. B. Manny, United States Department of Agriculture

"Appraisal of and Outlook for Research in Rural Sociology Under the New Deal" (from the point of view of the agricultural experiment stations), James T. Jardine, United States Department of Agriculture

"Appraisal of and Outlook for Research in Rural Sociology Under the New Deal" (from the point of view of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration), Mordecai Ezekiel, Agricultural Adjustment Administration

"The Report of the Commission on the Social Studies," Willard Waller, Pennsylvania State College; Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University; Clifford Kirkpatrick, University of Minnesota

"A Theory for the Measurement of Social Forces," Stuart C. Dodd, American University of Beirut, Syria

"Measurement in Case Work," M. J. Karpf, Graduate School for Jewish Social Work

"A Scale of Status of Occupations," Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas

"An Experiment in Estimating the Employability of Workers in the Relief Population," Helen Griffin Woolbert, FERA

"A Study of Unemployed Men in Chicago Shelters," Harvey J. Locke, University of Chicago

"Industry's Discarded Workers: A Study of One Hundred St. Louis Relief Families," Flora Slocum and Charlotte Ring, Citizens' Committee on Relief and Employment, St. Louis, Missouri

"Early Marriage Adjustments," Robert G. Foster, Merrill-Palmer School

"The Study of College Traditions as a Field of Research," W. A. Cowley, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University

"Some Methodological Problems to be Considered in Planning Family Research," Mildred Parten, Yale University

"Significant Types of Family Research Evaluated and Discussed," C. C. Zimmerman, Harvard University

"Needed Viewpoints in Family Research," John Dollard, Yale University

"Continuity in Research and Planning," Neva R. Deardorff, New York Welfare Council, New York City

"What Use Can the College Teacher Make of Current Research Studies in Teaching Courses on Marriage and the Family?" Mildred B. Thurow, Merrill-Palmer School

"Possible Research Projects for Sociologists as Viewed from the Field of Child Development," Mary S. Fisher, Sarah Lawrence College

Critiques of the Institute of Social and Religious Research's "Study of Inter-faith Relationships," Frederick Siedenburg, University of Detroit; Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago; Rabbi Bernard Heller, B'nai B'rith Foundation, University of Michigan

"Status and Prospects for Research in Rural Life Under the New Deal," Dwight Sanderson, FERA

"Prediction Methods Applied to Problems of Classification Within Institutions," George B. Vold, University of Minnesota

"A Technique for Developing Criteria of Probability," Ferris F. Laune, Division of Pardons and Paroles, Illinois

"Problems of Reliability and Follow-Up," C. C. Van Vechten, Jr., Division of Pardons and Paroles, Illinois

"Some Results of Quantitative Analyses of the Institutional Pattern of Churches," F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota

"Utilization of the Census Material in Social Planning," Calvert L. Dedrick, Central Statistical Board, Washington, D. C.

"A Survey of Recreational Facilities in Delaware County as a Basis for Social Planning," Stewart G. Cole, Crozer Theological Seminary. Discussion: C. J. Bushnell, University of Toledo

"The Development of Regional Research," the chairman

"Planning Personality and Cultural Research in the Tennessee Valley," William E. Cole, University of Tennessee

"Sociological Phases of the Proposed Southwestern Regional Study," Luther L. Bernard, Washington University

"Opportunities for Regional Research on the Pacific Coast," Paul S. Taylor, University of California

The research papers which are of especial interest to educational sociologists will be discussed in the department in the March issue of *THE JOURNAL*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sex in Childhood, by ERNEST R. GROVES AND GLADYS HOAGLAND GROVES. New York: The Macaulay Company, 1933, 247 pages.

A discussion of the normal development of the child's sex interests and attitudes from infancy through adolescence. An unusually intelligent presentation of this problem in terms of the progressive personal relationships of the child within the family. The book is particularly valuable because it presents the child's adjustment to sex as part of his total adjustment to the demands of social living.

New Patterns in Sex Teaching, by FRANCES B. STRAIN. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1934, 242 pages.

Offered by the author—out of long experience in dealing with the sex problems of childhood—as a guide to parents and teachers in anticipating and meeting the hazards of neighborhood play, questionable companions, street talk, occasional mature immoralities, which sooner or later, directly or indirectly, come within the horizon of most children. It suggests ways of meeting, interpreting, and supplanting these situations in an eminently sane, constructive fashion.

An Introduction to Sex Education, by WINIFRED V. RICHMOND. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934, 312 pages.

A discussion of sex in relationship to self-fulfillment in our social organization. The biology and psychology of sex are concisely and interestingly presented, followed by a study of sex and social control from primitive societies, through the historical period to the present day.

Parents and Sex Education, by B. C. GRUENBERG. New York: Viking Press, 1932, 112 pages.

A sane, simple, accurate but common-sense discussion of sex education in the family, for parents. The book is nontechnical, presents a definite philosophy of the place of sex in human life, and in the psychological development of the young child. A book that will prove useful to teachers as well as to parents.

Answers to Awkward Questions of Childhood, by THEODORE F. TUCKER AND MURIEL POUT. New York: Claude H. Kendall, 1934, 156 pages.

Advice to both teachers and parents as to how to answer the common questions that children ask concerning sex. The book is based on six years' experience of the authors in answering thousands of children's questions. Under each question is a simple answer to be given the child, followed by a more detailed discussion, for parent and teacher, of the reason for the answer.

A Thousand Marriages, by ROBERT LATOU DICKINSON AND LURA BEAM. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1931, 482 pages.

Written by a gynecologist, this volume presents the first comprehensive study of sex as a physical relationship in the marital situation. While its point of departure is the physical relationship, it goes on to a discussion of psychic factors in marital adjustment and envisages the woman's whole sexual relationship in life in our contemporary civilization.

The Single Woman, A Medical Study in Sex Education, by ROBERT LATOU DICKINSON AND LURA BEAM. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1934, 469 pages.

A companion study to *A Thousand Marriages*, this volume deals with the life histories of more than 1,300 single women as revealed to the physician in clinical practice. The volume deals with the single woman's adjustment to sex, and, like *A Thousand Marriages*, goes far beyond the physical in exploring the weaving of the threads of sex into woman's psychic life and into her attempts to find a satisfying place in society.

The Sex Life of the Unmarried Adult, edited by IRA S. WILE. New York: Vanguard Press, 1934, 320 pages.

The central problem of this timely and significant volume is the sex problem of the increasing numbers of young men and young women whose marriages are delayed by the economic and vocational organization of our civilization. Eleven authorities contribute chapters dealing with the medical, psychological, economic, legal, and sociological aspects of the problem.

Birth Control, Its Use and Misuse, by DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934, 304 pages.

An extraordinary stimulating discussion of the various methods of contraception now in use, of their reliability, and of their effect upon the physical health of mother and child, as well as upon the psychology of

the sex relationship. Particularly significant is the discussion of the attitude of the medical profession towards birth control, and of the social implications of contraceptive practices. Simply written for the lay reader.

Birth Control in Practice, by MARIE E. KOPP. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1933, 290 pages.

An analysis of ten thousand case histories of the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau, the book deals in thoroughgoing fashion with the sociologic, economic, and physical make-up of the group who applied for contraceptive advice, and relates this material to the success and failure of the methods prescribed. Undoubtedly the most significant factual study of the problem that has been published. An important sourcebook for physicians and sociologists.

Encyclopaedia of Sexual Knowledge, by A. COSTLER AND A. WILLY. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1934, 636 pages.

A detailed compilation of material concerning the sexual development and adjustment of the individual. The volume is divided into six books, dealing successively with sexuality in childhood and adolescence, sexual intercourse, procreation, imperfections of love, sexual aberrations, and venereal disease, followed by an appendix dealing with prostitution.

Genealogy of Sex, by CURT THESING. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1934, 283 pages.

A biological panorama of sex in the animal world, examining in detail the methods whereby life perpetuates itself and tracing the genesis and evolution of reproduction from the one-celled organism, through a myriad of intervening forms, to man. A fascinating and informative phylogenetic study.

The Science of Human Reproduction, by H. M. PARSHLEY. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1933, 319 pages.

A somewhat technical but none the less clear and readable account of the biology of sex and reproduction. An excellent source of orientation for parents or counselors who would understand the scientific background of sex, reproduction, and related physical phenomena. An outstanding feature of the volume is the presentation of the endocrinology of sex.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Adolescent in the Family*. Publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.
- Aids to Historical Research*, by JOHN MARTIN VINCENT. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.
- At War with Academic Traditions in America*, by A. LAURENCE LOWELL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- College Textbook of Hygiene*, by DEAN FRANKLIN SMILEY AND ADRIAN GORDON GOULD. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Economics and the Good Life*, by F. ERNEST JOHNSON. New York: Association Press.
- Education on the Air*, edited by JOSEPHINE H. MACLATCHY. Fifth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio. Columbus: Ohio State University.
- Human Exploitation*, by NORMAN THOMAS. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company.
- Human Machine: Its Uses and Abuses*, by LORENA M. BREED. Boston: The Stratford Company.
- Nazism: An Assault on Civilization*, edited by PIERRE VAN PAASEN AND JAMES WATERMAN WISE. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas.
- Our American Heritage*, by L. S. COYLE AND W. P. EVANS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Physical and Mental Growth of Prematurely Born Children*, by JULIUS H. HESS, GEORGE J. MOHR, AND PHYLLIS F. BARTELME. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Since 1914*, by J. H. LANDMAN. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc.
- Study of the Problems of 652 Gainfully Employed Married Women Homemakers*, by CECILE TIPTON LAFOLLETTE. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Survey of Contemporary Sociology*, edited by HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- Training in Psychiatric Social Work*, by SARAH H. SWIFT. New York: Commonwealth Fund.

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EDITORIAL

S-O-S! Save Our Schools! This is the call resounding from east to west—from north to south, throughout our country. Our schools are one of many social institutions hit square in the face by financial stress. Even if it be true that our financial depression is somewhat less depressing, the cry of distress continues to be broadcast, an appeal for the saving of our schools.

The plea is directed to all classes of people on whose response the financial status of public education depends. The plea calls for sustaining funds in spite of any financial depression, local or national. Whatever be the hazards to other institutions, our public schools must not suffer! The claim is that these schools are the very foundation of our democracy and the driving force in advancing civilization. They must not suffer.

Quite naturally this call comes from those who think themselves in greatest danger—teachers and school officials through their representatives. The most prominent of these is the National Education Association through its representative, the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education. The “coöperating organizations,” announced by this Commission, are the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Phi Delta Kappa Educational Fraternity, Congress of Parents and Teachers, etc., all of them intimately related to our schools. The broadcasting of the plight in which our schools are found is winning

much sympathetic response. To this Joint Commission and its coöperating organizations generous credit is due.

The critical observer cannot but wonder why there are so few lay organizations coöperating in this appeal to save our schools. One simple suggestion is offered.

Substitute for the S-O-S, Save Our Schools, a very different S-O-S, Serve Our Society. This new appeal is not addressed to the taxpayer and the public, but in the other direction, by the taxpayer and the public to the schools. The schools are to be saved through their service to society rather than through charity by society. The situation is more crucial than the school and the public realize. If suitable service is rendered society, that society will not forsake its benefactor. Schools are an investment. If the returns are creditable, the public is readily responsive.

Here is the theme for this issue of *THE JOURNAL*. An effort was made to present views from both schoolmen and laymen. Frank professional discussion is wanted. Each contributor is responsible for his own views.

J. L. MERIAM

SCHOOLS THAT SATISFY

C. R. MANN

C. R. Mann is well known for his educational work as research expert in the Carnegie Foundation, consulting expert in education during the war, and as director of the American Council on Education. The press of May 18, 1933, reported an address by Dr. Mann, before the American Council on Education, in which he challenged American educators to "deliver the goods" or abandon their claim to increasing public support. This challenge led to the request for this contribution to THE JOURNAL.

In pioneer days the building of a school was one of the first activities of every newly settled community. Backed by this expression of public confidence, the little red school house became a symbol of American aspiration for liberty. Recently, however, not only a scattered community here and there but even whole States have permitted their schools to close because budgets for all public services were reduced. Has public confidence in schools vanished? When prosperity returns, what shall we do about schools? Shall we reestablish the former practices of the schools or shall we inaugurate new school practices which better serve the changed economic and social conditions?

Every community must answer these questions for itself. Two practical suggestions, although apparently in unrelated fields, still present so many of the typical difficulties that schools must overcome in reappraising results and making needed reorganizations that they are here presented in some detail. Study of these suggestions are helpful to citizens in every community in developing methods of finding answers to these school problems. The first is the analysis of the final report of the National Planning Board, created by executive order in June 1933 and transferred to the National Resources Board on July 1, 1934.

The final report of the National Planning Board contains a digest of comments on national planning as evidenced by historical events. The report begins with brief tributes to the "dominant

part played in the building of America by the uncoordinated efforts of individuals and families, by the spontaneous movements of masses of the people, and by the clashes of conflicting interests." It is shown that even the early settlements exemplify a form of corporate planning "modified by the religious and social ideals of the settlers themselves."

During the early years of national growth there was continuing conflict between the plans proposed respectively by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. These spontaneous conflicts overshadowed efforts towards planful evolution and often perverted many of the devices intended to promote national development. Thus the tariff was turned from an agency of national development into a powerful instrument of local and group interests. Internal improvements were at times diverted to satisfy the greed of particular individuals. Such controversies furnished incentives for rival systems of national policy about which the struggle for the future of America raged. Few noticed that the nation prospered slowly under such stress and only so long as the frontier was open.

After the Civil War the rival philosophies of laissez faire and of rugged individualism began to evolve. More and more these dominated the struggle for many years amid a series of abuses which steadily grew in spite of efforts to stop them by comprehensive plans for land use, for conservation, for public regulation, and for social betterment in the interests of all the people. The evolution of the antitrust laws is typical. Still the control of the private profit incentive steadily increased until most people accepted the principle as a matter of course during the earlier years of the present century and the World War.

All remember how during the World War the economic life in America was reorganized and given central control under a universally approved desire for victory. When the armistice came in the fall of 1918 we were on the verge of entering a period of

real planned economy. But nothing of the sort happened then. People did not fully recognize that America had changed from a debtor to a creditor nation and that the age of economy of scarcity had ended. No one then seemed to understand how to readjust social life to fit the economics of plenty that then dawned. Business leaders sought for ten years to reestablish economic life on prewar conceptions of competition and survival of the fittest, resulting in the collapse of 1929 and the subsequent five years of disillusionment and depression.

The report analyzes several of the notable efforts made by the New Deal to revive national productivity. It shows, for example, how the National Recovery Administration sought to establish a centralized control that still preserves the values of individual initiative. Its guiding principles are a minimum living wage, industrial self-government, and coöperative action between the Government, management, and labor to maintain a stable prosperity. But the code authorities are generally business men interested by tradition in competition, price fixing, and personal profit. The Central Statistical Board likewise found that these business men are more interested in code enforcement than in national policy. Hence, the partial failure of NRA and the endless discussion as to whether its authority shall be continued in its present or in some modified form.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is particularly significant because of its double mandate "to aid further the proper use, conservation, and development of natural resources" and "to provide for the welfare of the citizens of said areas." For achievement of its first purpose the TVA is building dams, electric-power equipment, and suitable residences for the people. In its social planning the Authority is trying to maintain the existing institutional structure, to conform in general to normal business practices, and to extend better and more service to the population. While its efforts to maintain institutional practices often

impose restrictions on quick attainment of immediate results, the extension of better and more services results in lowering of prices and, hence, costs to the consumer.

Perhaps these two cases are sufficient to suggest some of the inherent difficulties in planning for national action by the suggested methods. Evidently the NRA finds it impossible to liberate men for coöperative teamwork so long as the code authorities insist on regulations that prescribe competition, price fixing, and personal profit. The desire for these customary results seems to be ingrained in men's emotions from long tradition and experience. They know that such results give satisfaction. They lack personal experience with the satisfactions that come from coöperation and the more abundant life. Hence they dare not risk any untried personal ventures. Adjustment of these two conflicting requirements must somehow be made.

The TVA, on the other hand, is trying to develop natural resources in a manner that provides for the welfare of the citizens. In their building operations they are moving with due respect to existing institutional structure and business practices. Yet their social results are good. They are introducing new methods that result in more service at lower costs. Hence, they are producing new facts and experiences that make confidence in social coöperation more reliable than competition in the working process. Their experiences are furnishing the data needed to demonstrate that the consumer can secure what he really wants at lower cost than is required by public utilities operating on the formerly sanctioned methods. These are the data needed by President Roosevelt in his efforts to make utilities either furnish power at lower rates or quit.

To indicate how the inherent, necessary, material data may be reliably secured, the National Planning Board Report includes two special reports, one from the National Research Council and the other from the Social Science Research Council. The former

lists the special types of information that natural science must continue to furnish by continuing research in physics, in chemistry, in mathematics, in geology, and in biology. This report emphasizes the exactness of the material findings furnished by science. It also reminds us that for real living we must maintain proper balance between the material contributions of science and the human features that determine the values of life. Hence, scientific data must be balanced with human longing for values that really satisfy the heart's desire. This is one of the most difficult problems in the advance of civilization.

Similarly, the special report of the Social Science Research Council stresses the growing hunger of all people for enlightenment concerning the principles which are being proved by the social sciences. Such a social-science foundation is now needed for general understanding of the basis of national planning by the processes proposed. No reliable information is given concerning the nature of the principles of social behavior to which reference is made.

The inherent difficulties in national planning of the sort advocated by the Planning Board was recognized by President Angell in a lecture last November before the Carnegie Institution when he said, "An ill-omened industrialism exploiting ruthlessly and with little prevision of the social consequences of labor-saving discoveries of science and technology has created social and economic ruin for millions of men."

The foregoing summary of the findings of the National Planning Board is presented at some length because it describes so many of the traditional elements in planning as they are generally understood by most people. The second practical suggestion for procedure with the school problem comes from analysis of the customary way in which social habits evolve. Both procedures are illustrated vividly in the recent experiences of Americans with the prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitu-

tion. For taking away from all people all opportunity to get intoxicating beverages seemed to a minority group a highly desirable outcome. Therefore, that group planned for years how to achieve that result. Through years of aggressive campaigning numbers of individual States were successfully led to put prohibition legislation on their statute books. "Dry" States gradually increased. Then a centralized attack was made on the Federal Congress. The Eighteenth Amendment was finally ratified. The combined forces of public sanction and of police repression were lined up to make the people want to be dry.

For fifteen years the system retained its legal authority as planned by those who conceived it. The Federal Government tried sincerely to force the outcome that seemed desirable when it was approved. Meanwhile, the masses of the people for whose benefit the project had been planned were observing the results and forming their personal judgments concerning both the practicality and the desirability of the results. In this way so much adverse opinion developed that the law was repealed. The futility of trying to achieve results people do not want by autocratic methods was apparent to a large majority because of many personal experiences with the plan. The system violated too flagrantly personal conceptions of liberty and individual responsibility.

Analysis of this second procedure by which the prohibition amendment was repealed shows that this is the ordinary procedure by which changes normally are accomplished. The experience shows how masses of the people behave, each of whom is naturally following his own intuitions in spite of the announced practice for centralized control. In other words, the way in which the free spirit of masses of the people reacts to efforts at regulation is revealed by the results which every one observes in his personal experiences. Ordinarily, this procedure advances slowly because a long time is required to make clear how the free spirit

reacts in enough cases to convince the majority of the people. When enough cases are secured, a change is made.

This normal process of collecting the experiences which prove how free people naturally act can be very much accelerated. How this is done has been illustrated in many ways by the experiences of organizations in developing the methods of simplified practice. It is revealed most simply in the experiences of communities with the evolution of the traffic regulations. In the beginning, traffic regulations were established for the purpose of making automobile traffic conform to the habits which had developed from experiences with horse-drawn vehicles. The regulations sought to slow traffic down to the rate to which we were accustomed. Gradually, however, the idea developed that the purpose of traffic regulation is to expedite traffic. Hence, in modern communities this needed centralized control of traffic is designed to maintain the essential features of centralized control in a way that encourages each independent, responsible driver to use his own judgment in managing his own car in the most appropriate way. Special observers, instructed to report how independent drivers do behave under traffic regulations at particular points, gather the facts and report them to the central traffic board. From an analysis of these rapidly accumulated data as to how free drivers actually do behave with regard to traffic regulations, the traffic board determines how the traffic regulations must be changed in order to liberate the drivers more completely. In this way, the normal evolution of traffic regulations is expedited. The centralized control is constantly being made more effective by adjusting it as far as possible to individual desire for speed with safety. The driving public, as a result of its own experiences, rapidly accepts and obeys the kind of centralized control that assures them of this greater individual liberty.

The insight gained by the traffic experiences is applicable directly to the school problem. For school regulations may oper-

ate, like traffic regulations, as restraints on the constructive desires of children. For example, every secondary-school system requires all freshmen to take algebra. The statistics of the algebra classes show that each year about a quarter of the students are repeating algebra in an effort to achieve the "pass" mark of 60 per cent. Does such a universal algebra requirement help or hinder individual freedom and growth of the students? This question may be answered, like the traffic question, by observing results achieved by large numbers of students endeavoring to meet the specifications of the requirement. Probably every school system will find that at least 25 per cent of the students required to take algebra each year have failed algebra the first time and are repeating it in an effort to measure up to the requirement a second time. The same sort of observations showing how students behave under any other school requirements are easily made.

Significant objective observations, showing what over 60,000 pupils achieve in fourteen subjects in 400 high schools in the State of Iowa, are rapidly accumulating in the Every-Pupil contest conducted annually by the University of Iowa. In fact, the average composite student scores produced by the students in 283 nonaccredited high schools in Iowa overlap completely the corresponding scores secured by the students at 92 high schools approved by the accrediting standards of the North Central Association. The scores of each school in the upper third of the nonaccredited list are superior to those of corresponding scores in the lower third of the accredited schools. Such experiments as these in Iowa and similar experiments in Indiana make it clear that higher educational authorities must encourage every school to solve its own problems in a way to reveal the results which students accomplish in different types of procedure. In other words, schools are finding it advantageous to apply the technique of the traffic study to educational problems.

Any one who analyzes the results showing what students under varying conditions actually achieve in each of the fourteen customarily required lines of work soon recognizes that records of this sort supply the data needed to determine which of the current school services is worthy of continued support and which is wasted energy for the students. On the basis of such findings every school may appraise the actual achievements of the students themselves and may change their school practices until the students' achievement shows clearly that they have accepted the responsibility of achieving their own desired results themselves. Such measurements of actual student accomplishment show schools what kind of centralized control produces decentralized responsibility of the sort which students really desire. This is the central, critical American problem.

Analyses of the many activities discussed by the National Planning Board and the results of numerous experiences like those with traffic regulations furnish many suggestions as to how any given community can work to improve its own school situation. Every community must experiment in ways that seem most nearly to satisfy its own specific requirements. Out of a number of such spontaneous and independent modifications will surely come a school service that more nearly satisfies the aspirations of our people.

A BUSINESS MAN'S VIEW OF PUBLIC-SCHOOL EDUCATION

H. W. PRENTIS, JR.

H. W. Prentis, Jr., is president of the Armstrong Cork Company of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He took his A.B. degree at the University of Missouri in 1903, his A.M. at the University of Cincinnati in 1907, and was honored with the LL.D. degree by Hampden-Sydney College, Virginia, in 1932. He is an active member of a large number of clubs, organizations, and committees, social, commercial, civic, educational, and religious. He represents "big business." His own company comprises 8,500 persons at home and abroad.

When asked by the editor of this issue of *THE JOURNAL* to prepare this article, I served notice on him that my ideas would doubtless be held reactionary by a progressive like himself. So I repeat now what I told him then: Education should have as its primary objectives the making of the individual at once mentally resourceful and mentally humble. To acquire resourcefulness and mental humility involves more than dabbling with a broad range of widely diversified subject matter. Mental discipline is necessary—the development of the capacity to think accurately and persistently. Therefore the three R's should be driven in strongly during the early stages of the educational process. All this was to make clear that if his invitation stood, he might "catch a Tartar." Evidently he was willing to run the risk, because his suggestion was not withdrawn in the face of this candid warning.

I do not agree with all the implications involved in the allegedly true incident that follows. I relate it simply because it is symptomatic of the attitude of countless American citizens towards many features of present-day primary and secondary education, sometimes expressed, frequently repressed. The story is said to have been told on himself by the son—now a full-fledged business executive—of a well-known professor of the philosophy of education. The family in question, consisting of

the narrator, his little sister, and their parents, had spent the summer on a relative's farm in New Hampshire. A barn was being built, and the young son of the family, through intimate association with the masons, carpenters, and other mechanics engaged in the work, acquired a fluent vocabulary of profanity, of which his mother and father remained ignorant.

September rolled around and the family returned to New York City, where for the first time a Montessori school was being opened. Anxious to have their children receive the benefits of the latest wrinkles in education, the eager parents entered both their children. On the opening day they were taken to the school, with the understanding that the mother would call for them at noon when the day's session ended. The wide-eyed children were ushered into a large, well-lighted room filled with sand piles, brightly colored paper and scissors, building blocks, beads and string, diminutive work benches, and the other paraphernalia of the cult. All went smoothly for perhaps an hour. Then the small son asked permission to use the telephone, and the instructress, pleased by this evidence of budding youthful initiative, gladly granted the request. Obviously the shocked "Montessoriess" could hear but one side of the ensuing conversation: "Yes, I know it's only ten o'clock, but, mother, please come down and get sis and me right away." "But, mother, I don't want to go back to the schoolroom." "No, mother, *please*, mother, come and take us away quick." "Yes, I know you said you would call for us at noon, but please come right away instead." "All right, then, mother, I'll go back, but all I can say is that you'd better come and take sis and me away quick unless you want to have a couple of goddamned bead stringers for children!"

There have been genuine advances in public-school education in the past twenty years. Our schools are not making bead stringers out of the majority of our children. However, in the larger centers of population where during the "golden decade" there

was a plethora of money to spend, procured from taxes on successful business enterprise and swollen bond issues, there was a tendency in that direction, the extent of that trend bearing apparently some relationship to the degree that the theories of a small group of educational philosophers had found root and sustenance in the local school system.

Looking at public education from a common-sense point of view, it seems that it should have two objectives: first, to give the masses the rudiments of an education covering those broad fundamentals essential to making a living and helpful in enjoying life itself; second, to provide for the stimulation and development of the gifted individual who has in him the possibility of social, industrial, or political leadership. Needless to say, both of these objectives should be sought at a cost commensurate with the income of the citizenry. Failure to differentiate clearly between them has caused many of the difficulties now faced by the public-school system.

To be specific: The effort to furnish facilities for the masses that should have been provided and reserved for the small group of talented individuals who could make adequate and profitable use of such advantages has led to extravagant expenditures in many communities during the past twenty years. Today it is difficult to maintain and service these properties in the face of shrunken general income. Naturally one cannot generalize accurately for a huge country like the United States, but I know personally of township schools in Pennsylvania, for example, with sumptuous auditoriums and gymnasiums, elaborately equipped laboratories and shops, which provide facilities that are out of all proportion to those actually required to furnish a sound general education for the majority of the children who attend them. Just as the unbounded optimism, which in the light of the last five years seems to have been foolhardiness, caused the unwise expansion of industrial plants, business buildings, apart-

ments, and hotels, so many communities pursuing the innate American tendency to have everything in "our town bigger and better" were induced to undertake what now appear to have been overambitious school-building programs. In other words, we find in the public-school "plant" in some sections of the country factors common to other phases of American life in the period leading up to the depression.

In this connection the responsibility of certain specialists in educational theory should not be overlooked. Their influence has been far greater than the average citizen suspects or realizes. They are scattered pretty widely but perhaps their principal center of activity might be localized, if one searched for it, in the northern section of Manhattan Island. Now theorists and dreamers are essential; without them the world could not progress. It is essential, however, that all theories should be tested against the lessons of history and practical experience before they are applied on too far flung a scale; and I doubt whether many American citizens—outside educational circles—realize the extent to which the interests of their children and the ultimate destiny of our representative democracy are being affected by the particular group of educational theorists to which reference is made. As a rule their dreams and visions have not been checked and refined in the crucible of experience before being applied to rather extensive programs. Their ideas have not been discussed and criticized intelligently by thinking laymen.

Deplorable as this may be, it is not surprising. The educational theorist is dealing with intangibles, the impact of which on our social, economic, and political life is not immediately in evidence; in fact the ultimate results, whether for good or ill, are long deferred. Several generations of school children will have to grow up and come to maturity before the real value of many of these theories can be determined. In this respect the professional expert in education differs from experts in other fields. The physician's

proficiency or lack of proficiency becomes evident to his patients very speedily; the practising engineer is judged quickly by immediate factual results; the lawyer's mettle is soon determined among his clients by his success in winning cases; the buildings the architect erects speak for themselves in steel and stone. In comparison, the educational expert has a free hand. Practical schoolmen criticize and discuss his theories of course. But it must be remembered that budding schoolmen (and women) seeking knowledge—and professional advancement as well—are accustomed to attend the summer classes of these experts, since their influence in determining the selection of superintendents and principals is well known. The favored school executive in turn may at times be in a position to reciprocate by engaging these outstanding theorists for such congenial tasks as "curriculum building." One Western city is alleged to have spent \$100,000 only a few years ago for such service. Educational fashions change rapidly, however, and the introduction of textbooks by certain expert authors sometimes leads to the early abandonment of even expensively built curricula.

All of this implies no imputation of improper procedure. However, the fact that such reciprocal methods of advancing self-interest are not unknown in the altruistic stratosphere of high academic circles may be of some passing interest to selfish business men and bankers whose sordid profit motive has been scourged in the public prints recently by more than one of these high priests of education. The expert has probably been helpful in most cases, but, as already stated, few laymen today recognize the degree to which the theories of a handful of educational philosophers are coloring our public education and guiding the expenditures therefor.

Business men will recall vividly the descent of the "efficiency engineer" on American industry twenty odd years ago. Like a plague of locusts, these self-styled experts swarmed into any fac-

tory or office that could afford the temporary luxury of their presence—with bales of charts and graphs and time studies and psychological personnel tests. Slapdash in performance, irritating in procedure, superficial in conclusions, their shallowness was soon exposed, and to this day even the name, “efficiency engineer,” remains a term of opprobrium. But the careful, plodding, painstaking industrial engineer carries on in unspectacular fashion effecting new economies every day. Similarly, industry has not forgotten the eloquent proponents of the “psychology of salesmanship” whose star rose and fell a decade or so since. Their main stock in trade was to cast a pseudo-scientific pall of mystery about the simple common-sense task involved in selling goods and services. Obviously it would be unfair to suggest the slightest parallel between the activities of such self-alleged experts in manufacturing and selling, and those that have been engaged so busily since the turn of the century in the exploration of the psychology of elementary and secondary education. To the layman, reading the latter’s books, however, there seems to be some drift—shall we say—towards enveloping elementary-school teaching with a faintly similar circumambient veil of esotericism. Even at that, native horse sense still asserts itself on occasion as, for example, when a distinguished professor of the philosophy of education, after ninety-five pages of logomachy maintaining the superiority of interest over effort in training the child mind, brings forth this simple, understandable statement which effectively neutralizes his preceding argument—panoplied though that argument is in all the translucent abstruseness with which educational psychology overawes the hard-worked teacher on the firing line:

It follows that little can be accomplished by setting up “interest” as an end or a method by itself. Interest is obtained not by thinking about it and consciously aiming at it, but by considering and aiming at the conditions that lie back of it, and compel it. If we can discover a child’s urgent needs and

powers, and if we can supply an environment of materials, appliances, and resources—physical, social, and intellectual—to direct their adequate operation, we shall not have to think about interest. It will take care of itself.

Undoubtedly real education is the “drawing out” of the individual’s mind and is the result of a combination of personal desire and outward compulsion. Many modern educators assert that the old emphasis on mental discipline and drill has been wisely discarded; that efforts to educate where there is no interest are futile. No doubt there must be interest before mental effort is fully effective. This, however, is one of those dangerous half-truths that are so frequently accepted at face value by uncritical minds. The truth so far as children are concerned is probably that effort creates interest just as frequently as interest creates effort. What things do we as individuals value most in our adult life? The things for which we worked hardest. “For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.”

The child who never learns that the values in life that are most worth while have to be struggled for mentally and physically is indeed poorly prepared to meet the problems that crowd upon him in his later years. How correct spelling, for example, can be learned accurately by any other means than continued practice in spelling—something that no child enjoys or is particularly interested in at the outset—is beyond the comprehension of the average layman, and the lack of such drill is only too evident in the case of many young people who seek business employment. How any one can learn any subject without consistent effort—“by thinking about it all the time,” as Newton put it—is difficult to grasp. The mastery of the multiplication table or the intricacies of algebra may be a deadly tiresome process to many a child’s mind, but the rapidity of mental reaction and the capacity to think in a straight line are unquestionably sharpened by the disciplinary effect of mathematical training.

Failure to lead a child—through a combination of interest and compulsion—to grasp the importance of struggling for mental capacity has at least two unfortunate repercussions that reach far beyond the sphere of the immediate problem of fitting him to earn a living. In the first place, no one who has not had to struggle to attain mental and physical proficiency can hope ever to secure the thrill of satisfaction that comes from the realization of a job well done, or at least executed to the very limit of the individual's capacity at the moment. One reason that life seems drab to so many individuals as they approach middle age is that they were never induced through interest or compelled by early discipline to learn the satisfaction of achievement through hard, definite, persistent effort. Education does not attain its true goal unless it causes the individual to set a high internal standard of excellence for himself against which to measure his every act. Nothing would make for the lessening of waste in industry—both material waste and human waste—more than the inculcation of a passion for excellence for its own sake in the mind of every growing child. That means more mental discipline, more drill, if you will, backed and supported of course by every intelligent effort that can be coupled with it to add interest to the task. Many business men today feel that the schools have dodged their responsibilities on this important score; they have been too much occupied in filling the pupil with shallow and variegated ideas in an abortive effort to substitute the interest motive for mental discipline. The result is that too many students emerge from our primary and secondary schools unwilling to pay the price in sustained mental effort that modern business life requires for happiness and efficiency.

Perhaps our ultramodern educational leaders might well pause and give some heed to the comment of that cocky philosopher, Count Keyserling, in his *America Set Free*:

America is fundamentally the land of the overrated child. This then is the deepest reason for that infantilism one so often observes in grown-up Americans. . . . The general kindergarten atmosphere of the United States discourages their attempts to develop as they might.

Reduced emphasis on mental discipline and drill in our public schools gives point to the reflections of a brilliant Spaniard, Salvador de Madariaga, when he observed in 1928:

Americans are direct, frank, and spontaneous like children. They want to know because they are curious, not because they seek some advantage from the information they are asking. They just want to know. They are hungry and thirsty for information—facts, stories. But they dislike thought as wholesome, healthy children do.

The second repercussion that springs from undue attention to the interest motive and the lack of that mental discipline which was more prevalent in our schools twenty-five years ago than it is today is of even deeper and more portentous significance. The methods advocated by our modern educational philosophers have unwittingly led a growing group of young people to the conclusion that the great achievements of civilization are a God-given right to which they are justly entitled, irrespective virtually of personal effort. Having had educational opportunity served to them on the half shell, they are prone to forget the men who dug the oysters. The social and political eventualities inherent in that attitude of mind are appalling to sincere believers in representative democracy. It accounts in large measure for the ferment we witness all about us in the world today. As Ortega y Gasset puts it in his *Revolt of the Masses*:

The masses . . . are only concerned with their own well-being and at the same time they remain alien to the cause of that well-being. As they do not see, behind the benefits of civilization, marvels of invention and construction which can only be maintained by great effort and foresight, they imagine that their rôle is limited to demanding these benefits peremptorily as if they were natural rights.

A simple curriculum, intelligent and sympathetic instruction, modest physical equipment should and will suffice to provide the fundamentals of education for the great majority of children—at least as much education as they are capable of absorbing and putting to sound use. Elaborate equipment and instruction in specialized subjects should be reserved for that minority of the population that can use such facilities to their own advantage and that of the body politic. Every opportunity the country can afford should be provided for the gifted and earnest individual in whom the hope of future leadership resides. No obstacle should be thrown in such a child's way, but the process of winnowing out such individuals from the mass should be carried out thoroughly and relentlessly through repeated examinations covering both mental and moral fitness. The average American can see no reason for forcing a John Dillinger to go through high school and thus make a "bigger and better" crook. What I am saying here is as old as Plato. It is, of course, not popular doctrine, but, applied intelligently and without prejudice, such a program would ensure the mass of our young people better training for the actual problems of living they will encounter, and furnish even better opportunities for the limited group who possess the native endowment to qualify them for professional, executive, and public careers.

SCHOOLS SHOULD SERVE SOCIETY

PAUL F. VOELKER

Paul F. Voelker is chairman of the Michigan Educational Planning Commission. Among the nineteen members are representatives of the Federation of Labor, Real Estate Association, Manufacturers' Association, Farm Bureau, State Tax Committee, etc., as well as representatives of the schools. "Associates in Conference" number forty-seven, representing a wide range of laymen and schoolmen.

If human society were organized like a colony of honey bees, all of our efforts and activities, both collective and individual, would be in the common service of us all. In a society thus organized, the efforts of all individuals would be coöperative instead of competitive and each individual would find his happiness in the giving of service rather than in the pursuit of gain. Our present stage of evolution is far from the realization of such an organization. We may not even be heading in that direction. Even a casual observer would assert that the majority of human beings find greater satisfaction in individual expression than they do in social submersion.

Nevertheless we find a great number of institutions that have evidently been set up for carrying out the collective will of large organized groups of human beings. Probably no institution may be said to represent the collective will of all of human society. If ever such an institution were established it might be an international government or some international activity which would require more or less coöperation on the part of all of the inhabitants of our planet. We are too far removed from the development of such an institution to make plans for it. All we can do is to develop such institutions as represent concerted effort on the part of large organized groups of individuals.

It is difficult for an established institution to remain as a useful agency of the will of a group for any considerable length of time.

The reason for this is that institutions tend to become traditional and automatic in their functioning. Witness, for example, our courts of law, with their useless and worn-out formalities. Witness our archaic bicameral legislative assemblies. Witness the time-honored but nonfunctioning conceptions and formalities to which our religious institutions continue to cling. Every institution which fails to adjust itself promptly to social changes is in grave danger of ceasing to perform a valuable service to society at large or to the organization which called it into being.

Our schools are no exception to this rule. If they are to perform a useful function, they must continue to adjust themselves to the social demands. The founders of our nation believed in education as a means to securing good government and the happiness of mankind. Good government is a social desideratum whereas happiness is largely an individualistic goal. Our fathers placed good government above the interests of individuals when they established our educational system. Their evident purpose was that education should function in the preparation for citizenship. The service of the schools in preparing boys and girls to be good citizens has been the excuse for levying taxes in the support of our educational institutions, but this social aim of preparing for citizenship has gradually been subverted into the more individualistic aims of imparting cultural knowledge and of developing vocational skill as a means to helping individuals in their struggle for existence.

While it is impossible to make a sweeping statement regarding any institution and it would obviously be unfair to make such a statement all-inclusive, it is probably true that the avowed purpose of most of our schools today is to render service in the interests of individuals, that their general method is utilization of individual effort, and that the motive to which most frequent appeal is made is the motive of individual success. Individual efficiency is the primary product of our educational systems of

today. Social efficiency is only their by-product. Whatever social efficiency we have achieved has depended more upon accidental influences, such as the personality of the teacher, the traditions of the playground, the influences of the home, of the church, of the neighborhood, of the street, than upon the formal program of education. The net result of our formal education has been enlightened self-interest. Our schools have given but little attention to the development of those characteristics that make for social efficiency. In the preparation of our students we have not sufficiently emphasized their adaptation to social usefulness. We have failed to develop a technique of coöperation. We have given technical training and professional knowledge to those who have sat under our instruction but we have allowed them to go out into the world with the paramount purpose of winning success for themselves. The net result has been that the more efficient our schools have become as individualizing agencies, the more have they tended to weaken and even disrupt the social order which they were organized to perpetuate.

If our schools are to serve society, a beginning must be made in the attitude of the members of our profession. It is conceivable that representatives of the medical or legal professions might be somewhat justified in considering their service as an individual rather than as a social contribution but it is inconceivable that a real teacher could take this point of view. In a time like the present when millions are in distress and out of employment, when taxation systems are breaking down, when society is faced by almost insoluble problems, when education needs reconstruction in philosophy, in program, in organization, in method, one would expect that the members of our profession would earnestly strive to assist in the solution of these problems and thus render a real service to society. But what do we find? We find thousands of self-sacrificing teachers uncomplaining and working for a mere pittance on the one hand, and on the other hand, we find militant

groups who are agitated, not with the problems of reconstruction of education, but with the problems of raising their salaries and of making their tenures more permanent. In listening to the discussions of some of these militant groups, one might almost be led to believe that our children exist that there might be schools; that the schools exist that the teachers might have jobs; that the teachers exist that there might be colleges; and that the colleges exist that the professors might draw salaries.

When we organized our Michigan Educational Planning Commission, which consists largely of lay men and women representing powerful interest groups, such as the Manufacturers Association, the Farm Bureau, the Grange, the Real Estate Association, the Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of Labor, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Association of University Women, as well as groups of educators, I requested these representative men and women to tell us what kind of education the people of Michigan wanted for their children. What should be the goals of this education? What should be its extent? By what method should the money be raised? How much money should be expended? What should be the program and the curriculum? We feel we were justified in requesting these representative people to give us their answers to these problems, for the schools of Michigan belong to the people of Michigan rather than to the teachers and it is the business of the people to determine what kind of an education they want for their children. We must be sure, however, that any conclusions which are reached shall represent the consensus of opinion of the majority of the people of our great State.

The schools can render their maximum service only when they consider the welfare of all the people. Our educational institutions do not exist for their own sakes. They must not run on their own initiative. They must be responsive to the social needs. If one were to ask "What are the essentials of an education?" a fit-

ting reply would be the same reply that was given to a farmer who asked "What are the essentials of a good soil?" The reply was "It all depends upon what you want to raise!" If our schools are to raise the kind of citizen that can go out into the world to render social service, the teachers of these schools cannot be oblivious to what is going on outside of their cloistered walls. They must be sensitive to the dynamic elements of our social order. They must be the instrumentalities of the forces of progress and reconstruction. In fact, they must be the handmaidens of our civilization.

Much is being done at the present time to give our schools the social vision. Perhaps it may be said that the teachers are doing more than the people are doing. The people have been quite content to let the educators attend to the business of education while they, the people, attended to their more prosaic duties. But the people cannot shirk their responsibility for determining what the schools should do or evaluating the programs which are now in effect. Among the hopeful signs of the times are the socializing forces within the schools: playground activities, musical organizations, debating societies, the Future Farmers of America, the growing tendency towards the development of the spirit of good sportsmanship and of the technique of teamwork. The socialized recitation and the activities programs are pointing the way to a newer type of education. The adaptation of the curriculum to the child rather than the bending of the child to the curriculum is one of the reforms that is rapidly coming into practice. Teachers themselves are beginning to set up new values, new methods, and are envisioning new processes which a few years ago would have been considered revolutionary.

If the time ever comes when laymen and educators will plan the future of our educational system in cooperative effort, we may hope that our schools will not be motivated by individualistic considerations but by considerations of the social good. When

that time comes the public will participate in the educational opportunities of the community and society will share in its fruits; social efficiency will be the primary objective of education and all of our teachers will be actuated by the missionary spirit; our schools will study the possibilities of each individual child with the view to fitting him into his proper place in the social order; each individual will be prepared for participation in group life and each group will be trained in the collective performance of the functions of its community life. Then our schools will truly serve society. They will teach the individual to consider the social bearing of his conduct, they will train him in the suppression of his antisocial impulses and they will provide him with social motivation. In the school with the social vision, the whole group will be made socially conscious. It will be taught to consider the effect of its collective conduct upon its individual members and upon the general welfare and it will acquire the ability to act coöperatively in the protection of its community interests and in the conscious direction of its own progress.

BIG-BUSINESS FASCISM IN ILLINOIS

ROBERT C. MOORE

Robert C. Moore is editor of the Illinois Teacher. He was reared on the farm and advanced from rural-school teacher, through many phases of school work, to city superintendent. As legislative representative for the teachers of Illinois, he has contacted political, civic, and industrial issues.

On July 5, 1934, at the Washington meeting of the National Education Association, Mrs. Helen M. Rueben, a delegate from Illinois, made a motion in favor of organizing for mass action "to impress upon the entrenched interests now attacking the public schools the determination of the public to secure sufficient financial support to ensure for the public schools at least the educational efficiency of the predepression level."

In speaking on this motion the writer of this article said: "After our experience of the last few years in Illinois we can prove we are under the domination of a big-business fascism or of nazism of the entrenched interests, as they are called in this motion, that control our political parties, our State government; and they have adopted the most ruthless methods in their attacks upon public education."

We have been asked to produce our evidence in substantiation of this statement. Very well, let us call our witnesses.

Our first witness is an editorial entitled "A Dictatorship of Big Business," appearing in the March 1933 issue of *The School Review*, published in Chicago. A few sentences from that editorial describe our fascist group, as follows:

About a year ago there was organized in Chicago a group which took as its name the Citizens' Committee on Public Expenditures. . . . The press has at times referred to the organization as a committee of one hundred, but the active work appears to be carried on by a small group of thirty members. Of what interests the known members are representative may be seen in the facts that not fewer than half are directors or other officers of banks (including the four largest in the city), approximately

the same number are directors of other corporations, not fewer than nine are presidents or vice presidents of railways and large manufacturing and merchandising establishments, and at least seven are engaged in the real-estate business. A smaller number of other types of business interests are represented. No attempt seems to have been made to include in the membership representation of the host of other interests of the city, among them labor, education, welfare agencies, and local government. . . . It is absolutely extralegal. . . . This extralegal fascism is contrary to the best American principles.

We quote also a few sentences from the February 1933 *Elementary School Journal*, also published in Chicago:

The committee is an exclusive group representing only the large business interests of the community, and . . . is practically the spokesman of the banking interests to whom the city must look for the purchase of its securities in order that it may carry on the functions of government and protect its credit. In such a case the committee practically usurps one of the major functions of government because it speaks with an authority and a sanction which public officials will rarely find the courage to disregard. . . . The Chicago committee has . . . dictated without hesitation the maximum income which the several governmental agencies of the community may devise from taxation. In its scale of social valuations public education ranks low. . . . It would seem that the committee is determined to substitute its own will for the expressed will of the legally chosen representatives of the people.

In 1932 the Chicago Principals Club realized that some influence outside of the general public was shaping the policies of the school board. The club appointed a committee to determine certain facts about the Committee on Public Expenditures, sometimes called the "Sargent Committee" because its chairman was Mr. Fred Sargent, president of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway. After study and investigation the committee furnished the club with a printed report which contained the following statements:

The Sargent Committee is sometimes referred to in the press as a committee of one hundred, sometimes as a committee of two hundred and fifty. Twenty-three names were published in the press March 14, 1932.

Eight names in addition appear on the committee's letterhead. One member is deceased. Another member could not be identified. This report therefore is based on twenty-nine members.

As to their business affiliations, all of the members of the committee are associated in one way or another with big business. Five of them are on the board of directors of one or another of the four largest loop banks and two of them are on the boards of two of these banks. It is to these banks, the First National, the Harris Trust and Savings, the Continental Illinois, and the Northern Trust, that the Board of Education must look for the purchase of its tax warrants.

So far as can be determined from the records of those schools in the neighborhood where the members of the Sargent Committee now live, only two, possibly three, of the twenty members of the committee who have children ever sent them to the Chicago public elementary schools and these children have only attended in the low grades and for a short time.

In order to prevent the wrecking of the schools by the Committee on Public Expenditures, another committee was organized called the "Citizens Save Our Schools Committee." This was made up of members of parent-teacher associations, women's clubs of various titles, American Legion members, and members of other civic groups and organizations. On July 26, 1933, this committee issued a bulletin which contained the following statement:

On July 12, 1932, Mr. Fred Sargent and Mr. Earnest Graham, representing the Citizens' Committee on Public Expenditures, told members of the Board of Education in a public hearing that "it will not be possible for the board to finance its operations for the current year unless the school tax levy is reduced at least \$15,000,000." This demand was for a cut additional to the \$17,000,000 cut already made. These representatives said the Citizens' Committee would use its best efforts to secure money to enable the board to function for the remainder of the year and also to secure money for back salaries. After the board cut the additional \$15,000,000, the three and one-half months of back pay, which was due at the time Mr. Sargent announced the ultimatum to the board, was doled out over a period of nine months, no single payment being for more than two weeks. Not a cent of salary for the remainder of the year was paid

until ten months later, when the first salaries for the school year 1932-1933, those of September 1932, were paid May 12. So much for this promise!

The Chicago Principals Club *Reporter* for June 1933 contained an article by Principal W. H. Spurgin of the West Pullman School, who explained the standing and responsibility of the Sargent Committee as follows:

But there is a still more fundamental reason why the people should refuse to allow such a group to take charge of their affairs. Our system of government is founded on the principle that the people shall govern themselves through officials whom they themselves have elected. We are dealing here with a group which knows no higher authority. They are self-appointed and for an indefinite term. They were not selected by the people; they are not subject to recall; they will never have to stand for reelection; in short, they are responsible to no one.

President Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago wrote an article which was published in the *Chicago Herald and Examiner* of Sunday, July 16, 1933. In this article President Hutchins said:

We have a Century of Progress on the lake front. The Board of Education has initiated a century of reaction in the schools. They have denied the young people of Chicago, who need them most, educational opportunities that are more necessary than ever before. Every step they have taken is a backward step. They have damaged the school system so that it will take years to build it up again. They have damaged the city now and in the future. They have betrayed the children of Chicago. Who are these people? They are dummies in every sense of the word. They have no will of their own and they are utterly ignorant of educational problems.

Mr. Llewellyn Jones contributed an article under the title, "The Chicago Interlude," to *The New Republic* of July 5, 1933, in which he said:

The unofficial fascism which runs Chicago today is not only evident in the school situation but it is also felt throughout the administration of the Fair. Incidentally, among our recent social occasions in the life of the Fair was Rufus Dawes's welcome to the Italian delegation when he congratu-

lated the Italians on the alleged fact that in Italy "discipline has replaced disorder, control superseded confusion."

So much for official fascism. Our own is strictly unofficial. But the teachers know that it is functioning. Although a recent payment was made them, they are still five and one-half months in arrears in salaries which have been cut. . . . In accordance with good fascist precedent, this attempt is being made on the principle of control as opposed to assent. Indeed, it is remote control.

On Friday, July 21, 1933, a mass meeting was held at the Chicago Stadium to voice a protest against the school-wrecking program of the Chicago Board of Education which was evidently following the instruction of the fascist group. Dean Charles H. Judd of the School of Education, University of Chicago, was the principal speaker at that mass meeting. Dean Judd voiced a very vigorous protest against the school-wrecking program and placed the blame squarely upon the Sargent Committee in the following words:

The citizens of Chicago are determined to know why the solid majority of the Board of Education has taken the position that it must cut down the activities of the schools. The statements can be made with the assurance that the so-called "economy committee" of the board was advised by the paid agent of the committee of which Fred W. Sargent is the chairman, the committee commonly known as the Citizens Committee, that the majority of the Board of Education acted under orders from the mayor, and that the mayor, in turn, accepted the policy dictated by the owner of the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. The majority members of the board are mere puppets. The Board of Education has the power under law to build up the schools of this city as great social institutions. The majority members of the board are, at the behest of their bosses, using their power, which should be turned to constructive ends, to rob the youth of Chicago of their rights in a democracy.

Mr. Charles Stillman, a Chicago school principal, wrote an article entitled "Financial Fascism in Control," for the *Phi Delta Kappan*, February 1933, in which he said:

The effectiveness of the weapon of the veto power over financial assistance from the banks has been testified by statements of public officials who

have said, in effect, "We are sitting here with a gun at our heads." It was frankly and dramatically illustrated at the public budget hearing of the Board of Education when a member of the board said to several hundred representatives of organized parents who were protesting against further school slashes: "You are in the wrong forum. We are the Board of Education, but the Citizens Committee is determining the extent of our expenditures, and you should be presenting your arguments to them."

On February 27, 1934, Miss Margaret A. Haley, a well-known teacher-leader of Chicago, issued a bulletin to the teachers in which she described a conference of teachers with the Board of Education of that city. Her bulletin contains this statement:

But the one hundred and one pages of stenographic report of the meeting show that the board was helpless to do anything, unless and until it could get the consent of the bankers and others.

About October 3, 1932, the teachers of Chicago acting upon a suggestion of the Chicago Division of the Illinois State Teachers Association petitioned Governor Emmerson to call a special session of the 57th General Assembly to enact legislation for the protection and relief of the teachers. We quote the following from the statement of the reasons for such petition.

Representatives of the Chicago bankers appeared before the Board of Education on July 12, 1932, and stated that the banks would not buy the board tax warrants unless the board reduced its 1932 tax levy, and further stated that the banks would be guided by the recommendations of the representatives of the Citizens' Committee, Mr. Frederick Sargent and Mr. Earnest R. Graham, both of whom were present at the meeting when the bankers' representatives spoke. Mr. Sargent and Mr. Graham had long been urging a \$15,000,000 cut in the 1932 school tax levy which the Board of Education, on March 23, 1932, had certified to the City Council, but which on July 12 had not been passed by the City Council.

On Friday, September 30, 1932, the day that Senate Bill 34 became a law, published statements that the mayor had said the banks had again refused to purchase warrants appeared in all Chicago afternoon papers. One paper said: "Fred Sargent, as chairman of the committee, tells us we must reduce the 1931 tax-levy ordinance before the bankers will buy more Tax Anticipation Warrants," said the mayor."

It may be of interest to know what estimate a member of the Board of Education placed upon the power of this fascist Citizens Committee. The Chicago Principals Club *Reporter* of November 1933 quotes a radio address by Mrs. Helen M. Hefferan, a member of the Chicago Board of Education, in which she said:

With the distress of its school employees daily becoming more acute, there was formed a self-constituted "Citizens' Committee," representing the financial interests, and including numerous representatives of leading Chicago banks. This committee under the chairmanship of Fred W. Sargent, president of the Northwestern Railway, faced a rare opportunity to render a valuable public service in a great emergency. It was soon evident, however, that of all the taxing bodies concerned in the expenditure of public funds the Board of Education was to be singled out for unprecedented drastic cuts. The city, the county, the park system, the sanitary district, were largely overlooked in the committee's program for retrenchment. The Board of Education was forced again and again to slash its budget ruthlessly in response to the committee's insistent demands.

But why quote all these evidences of fascism in Illinois when the chairman of the Committee on Public Expenditures admits it?

The Saturday Evening Post of January 14, 1933, contained a long article by Fred W. Sargent, president of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, and chairman of the Committee on Public Expenditures. The title of the article was "The Tax Payer Takes Charge," and a reading of the article makes it perfectly clear that by "the taxpayer" he means the small organized group of powerful bankers and financial and industrial magnates composing the committee of which he was chairman. In other words, it is clear that he meant that his little group *was taking charge of affairs* in Chicago. His very first statements are as follows:

Since March 1932 Chicago has been steadily achieving a sharp reduction in the operating costs of its government through the cooperation of its various officials with an extralegal body of which I am the general chairman. This is the Committee on Public Expenditures, composed of

one hundred men whose only right to interfere is their love of their city and their desperation as taxpayers.

Please notice that he proclaims that his committee of one hundred is an extralegal body but that it is doing things to and with the government. Other quotations from the article by Mr. Sargent are as follows:

What is important now is retrenchment, and then more and more retrenchment. We are questioning the necessity for everything, and any intelligent group in that frame of mind soon discovers that first on the list of essentials comes police, fire, and health protection in the order named.

We are measuring with an uncompromising gauge. We know that the governments which represent us must live within an income fixed by our capacity and willingness to pay . . . the taxpayers can be as cohesive, as determined, aye, as ruthless in promoting economy as other groups heretofore have been in promoting uncontrolled spending.

The problem as it extends into the future becomes one of enlisting in the public service unreachable leadership, . . . men of sufficient stature to take charge for the people of the people's affairs.

Our committee found its power in the genuine eagerness of most of the officials to coöperate, plus the fact that the banks had decided that our committee's judgment could be guided by us. I do not mean that they have been disposed to put up any sum we might ask for. Naturally not, since they are banks. But they have shown that they positively will not lend money for any municipal function which does not have our active support. This has been a powerful lever in dealing with the really small number of recalcitrants in public office.

The business men of Chicago have learned their lesson. We shall not again let the mechanism run wild. Since we are keeping our minds strictly on the matter of immediate reductions in expenditures we have not yet decided how we shall work out the matter of future control. Eventually we may have a permanent organization to embrace the general purposes of the existing committee.

Now, if one man at the head of a committee of one hundred or fewer proclaims to the world that his committee is in charge of certain governmental functions, that they are "unreachable," and that they may permanently "take charge for the people of

the people's affairs," we have the very essence of fascism. We have a perfect antithesis of what another Illinois citizen, who was a real statesman, described as "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

We have called numerous witnesses, and their testimony shows that in Illinois we have a small, self-appointed, extralegal, irresponsible group of big-business men, with one man as their chief spokesman, who are asserting a power of dictation in governmental affairs. They limit the credit and determine the budgets of governmental units by their control of the banks. The regular chosen public officials are "dummies" and "puppets" in their hands, and such officials use their power destructively "at the behest of their bosses." If this isn't fascism, it is worse!

We could call many more responsible witnesses to show the growing power of the same type of fascism in State and national affairs. But the limits of space forbid. We shall conclude by quoting one more paragraph from the editorial in *The School Review*, called as our first witness, as follows:

Educators would not need to be greatly concerned over the dictatorship in Chicago if circumstances of the type described were restricted to that community. The disturbing fact is that such conditions are illustrative of what is taking place throughout the nation.

ADAPTATION OF THE SCHOOLS TO THE SOCIAL ORDER IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

E. H. SANGUINET

E. H. Sanguinet took his B.S. and A.M. degrees at the University of Missouri, and his Ph.D. at Teachers College of Columbia University. Before entering upon his studies, he had varied experience in industry and engineering. He thus became acquainted with real life. For several years he was in schoolwork in the Philippines. His doctor's dissertation is a searching analysis of the home and industrial life of the Filipino people as a basis for schoolwork.

The development of the public-school system in the Philippine Islands probably ranks among the outstanding events in the history of modern education. Thirty years ago public education for the masses was nonexistent. Today the Filipino people point with considerable pride to a system of free, public schools, housed in modern school buildings and roughly comparable in pupil enrollment and number of teachers to that of New York City. The report of the director of education of the Philippine Islands for 1931 shows the enrollment to be approximately one and one-quarter millions of pupils with a staff of thirty thousand teachers, supervisors, and administrators of whom less than three hundred are Americans.

The educational achievements of the Filipinos seem even more remarkable if we consider some of the difficulties which have been surmounted.

1. Normal schools had to be established and thirty thousand teachers had to be trained in a language that was foreign to them.

2. Twenty-eight hundred modern school buildings had to be designed and built to meet subtropical conditions and to house one and one-quarter millions of children. In addition many buildings of a temporary nature had to be constructed.

3. The problem had to be solved of administering and supervising a system of public schools scattered throughout ninety odd islands strung out in a line the length of which is approximately the distance between New York and Key West, Florida. Lack of good roads and efficient water and land transportation further complicated the problem.

4. The problem of financing the schools was also one of considerable difficulty. Some idea of the enormity of this problem can be gained by considering the financial resources of the country, which reveal the limitations with which school officials were confronted. In 1930 the entire national revenue was approximately 170,000,000 pesos¹ of which eighteen per cent was apportioned for school purposes. The per pupil cost of education was, therefore, limited to 25.61 pesos.

Tremendously powerful social forces must have been operating to make possible even a partial solution of these problems. Although it is difficult to isolate and specify just what these forces were, there seems to be enough evidence to hazard naming two: first, the absolute though blind faith of the masses of the people that education is the panacea that would solve practically all their difficulties, and, second, the pioneer spirit of the first group of American teachers—their determination and willingness to sacrifice self-interest for an ideal.

The powerful belief of the people in the efficiency of education may be deduced from the facts that (a) no truant officers are needed in the Philippines to enforce attendance laws. Hundreds of children throughout the archipelago have their names on the waiting lists for admission to the schools, and are clamoring for an opportunity to learn; (b) that for every thirty pesos contributed to education by the government a voluntary contribution of one peso is made by the people. In 1930 these voluntary gifts amounted to 1,133,226 pesos. Striking demonstrations

¹ The peso is worth \$.50.

of the common belief of all classes of people in the worth of education may be seen in the efforts of any number of communities to provide educational facilities for their children. The rich citizens donate money, land, equipment, while the poorer people furnish work animals and labor. Some go to the mountain forests to fell trees and hew timbers; others provide carabaos for hauling materials; and still others do carpentry and construction work.

The impetus which the indomitable spirit of the early American teacher gave to the movement towards a national system of public education cannot be overestimated. These teachers reflected the strong sympathy towards a suppressed subject people which swept the United States in the period after the Spanish-American War. These teachers were of necessity a selected group, as only persons of courage and idealistic convictions would take the risk of traveling ten thousand miles from their homes to live without the comforts and conveniences that were theirs in the United States; to risk the ravages of cholera, dysentery, typhoid, and malaria; and to be isolated in a foreign land, the language and customs of which they did not understand.

The first schools were, however, of military rather than of civilian origin. For several years after the sovereignty of the Philippines had been ceded by Spain the Filipinos continued to resist the occupation of the Islands by United States troops. Whereas it may be true that military expediency rather than educational aims was responsible for the establishment of these schools, nevertheless it was the custom of American army officers to start a school with a soldier-teacher as soon as a town had been pacified.

When peace was declared approximately one thousand American teachers were sent from the United States on the transport *Thomas* and the public-school system of today really had its inception. These teachers were sent to stations throughout the

various provinces and began to teach without books, equipment, or buildings. The writer has listened to many interesting stories of how thatched-roofed shelters supported by bamboo poles were hastily constructed to form the school building. Rows of bamboo poles were used as seats and banana-leaf copy books completed the equipment. Blackboards, books, pencils, and paper came later. The curriculum was limited to the teaching of English. Thus the first aim of education was "To provide a common language in place of the numerous native dialects in order to permit a broader social intercourse and the development of democratic government."

In general, the first classes consisted of rather mature pupils. After a very short time the demand for more schools became so insistent that it was necessary to use the Filipino pupils of these early classes as teachers in new schools. This was accomplished by having classes under the American teachers in the morning for the new Filipino teachers who would go to the surrounding communities in the afternoon to teach the lesson they had learned in the morning.

After this initial stage of development buildings and equipment generally became available and the curriculum was broadened to include the native art crafts, which included the fabrication of fiber products, such as hats, mats, etc. Gardening and shopwork were also added to the courses of study.

However, the inclusion of these vocational subjects was not received with enthusiasm. There are several reasons why this was so. The mores of the country placed the designation of social inferiority on those who worked with their hands. So strong was this stigma against manual labor that in the early days the children of the upper social classes would not dare stoop to carrying their books to school. Servants followed the children to and from school carrying the necessary school supplies and books. The preference for academic learning over vocational education

was also due to the fact that with the promise of self-government by the United States many white-collar positions such as provincial officials, clerks, bookkeepers, teachers, and other professional and semi-professional occupations were available as fast as the necessary Filipino personnel could be trained. Then, too, a rather strict authoritarian philosophy prevailed so that with governmental positions came power and prestige. It is only natural under these conditions that the younger generation should turn away from a type of education which held forth promise of long hours of work in the rice paddy with the attendant wallowing to the knees in water and muck, or the low wage of other types of manual work with its concomitant low social rating.

The vocational work in the elementary grades has undergone two rather distinct alterations. The original school population was composed of mature persons, the vocational subjects were on the adult level and the products were designed for commercial purposes. As their schools expanded and younger children came into the schools it became necessary, because of their immaturity, to shift the vocational work to higher grades. Later a gradual change in the philosophy of education manifested itself in a change of emphasis from the finished product to the educational effects upon the individual pupil. That is, the all-round growth of the individual in relation to his environment has superseded the aim of producing a marketable product.

From the beginning the number of pupils increased very rapidly, classes became so large as to become almost unwieldy with the result that teaching procedures and course-of-study outlines tended to become formal and rigid. This drift towards regimentation was also augmented by the fact that normal schools were compelled to turn out teachers at such a rate of speed that it was impossible to train them thoroughly in background content and methods, and at the same time to inculcate

a sound working philosophy of education. In recent years teachers and supervisors have been struggling diligently to individualize instruction, and considerable progress has been made, particularly in the primary grades. Other factors that are assisting in the solution of this problem are increased efficiency in normal training and a tendency to abandon a strictly departmentalized subject curriculum for a more integrated curriculum of the unit-of-work type.

The second decade after the establishment of the American type of school may be said to be the era of secondary education. Elementary-school graduates became numerous and a high school was finally established in the capital of each of the forty-eight provinces. The curriculum of these high schools was uniform and strictly academic in nature, and was patterned after the traditional college-preparatory curriculum in the United States.

Some agricultural secondary schools and some trade schools (limited almost entirely to furniture making) were established. These vocational schools struggled for existence while the academic high schools were overcrowded. In 1931 four out of every five students in secondary schools were pursuing either the college-entrance or the normal curriculum.

For many years the academic high schools performed a needed function in giving basic training for white-collar occupations. However, during the last ten years Filipinos have replaced Americans in practically all government positions, in the professions, and in many commercial positions. Recently it has become increasingly evident that the saturation point for the placement of graduates of academic secondary schools was being approached, and the bureau of education has this year authorized the establishment of a new type of curriculum for the academic high school which permits a wide substitution of commercial and vocational work for the usual college-entrance subjects. One

very strong factor in hastening the change from the purely academic curriculum of the majority of the present high schools is the growing realization among Filipinos that with the coming of political independence which has been authorized by the Congress of the United States, economic independence must also be accomplished. Crucial financial, commercial, and industrial problems must be met when free trade with the United States is abolished and Philippine goods must compete for markets in the United States on the same basis as other foreign nations which are better prepared for the struggle.

Today, the problems of administrative control, of housing the pupils, and of securing trained teaching personnel are well on the way towards a solution. The careful selection of materials of instruction which are indigenous to the culture of the Philippines rather than to that of the United States, and a restatement of the educational philosophy of the public schools seem to be the most pressing and pertinent problems of the immediate future.

SURVIVING SCHOOLS

E. L. MORGAN

E. L. Morgan is director of training for public welfare at the University of Missouri. Professor Morgan was asked to write as the representative of the extensive rural sections of this country.

One of the most disconcerting aspects of the present emergency is the number of public schools that have found it necessary to readjust radically their normal program by eliminating certain subject matter, by reducing salaries of teachers, and by making other economies equally drastic or by a complete closing of the school system.

In sharp contrast to this are two types of community situations in which the school carries on its normal program with some economies which, however, are not sufficient to impair its effectiveness: first, the community which votes the legal limit in school levy, thus requiring its taxable wealth to carry the necessary load to maintain a good school; second, the community limited in capital resources which not only votes the legal levy limit but which employs extralegal means to supplement school funds in order that the program may be carried on.

During the past two months it has been our privilege to inquire of a rather large number of widely scattered village and rural-school teachers and board chairmen as to the means they have employed to keep going in the midst of most unusual financial circumstances. Outstanding in all the replies was the statement that "Our community is sold on the school program to the extent that the people do what is necessary to provide the funds," either through voting the levy limit or by the use of many sorts of money-raising devices recognized as being permissible in the emergency only. As we read the replies we were reminded of that old adage "We want what is made to appear the desirable known and we usually pay for what we want." The data clearly

show that these schools have been community service institutions for some years and that it is the normal program the people have defended rather than a trumped-up emergency one.

The following is a composite statement of those aspects of the regular school program or policies which were said by those reporting to have been responsible for community support when the emergency came and put the people to the real test of whether they would continue to maintain their school. Their persistent recurrence either in full number or in groups rather suggests that they may represent the philosophy of education held by those responsible for the affairs of the school system in these small localities and thus for them comprise a category of what a community has a right to expect of a school in return for its loyalty as expressed through financial investment. They are stated in terms of what the school program provided for the community.

It was recognized that a very large portion of the pupils will put in their lives in the home community or in one very similar. Hence the curriculum was planned to meet the probable life needs of this large majority rather than for the small minority who might enter college. The fundamentals were well taught. There was an adjustment of the individual child to his social environment together with a constructive interpretation of small-town and farm life at its best rather than at its worst. Vocational education was developed as fully as was practicable with guidance related to the child's limitations. A new responsibility was assumed in moral education and a recognition that this must come out of the life the child lives through his choices and his activities.

The school gave its teachers to leadership in existing community functions as far as they were capable. Teachers became a part of the life of the community and frequently made themselves indispensable in the thinking of the people. Frequently with the teacher's leadership there developed potential local

leaders who eventually assumed responsibilities while the teacher gave direction to another enterprise.

The school building was planned for and made fully available to community uses. It was recognized that the only way for a school to become a community center is for it to become the center of the affairs of the community as far as this lies within its scope without impinging upon the province of other community institutions. The best adapted room was equipped for meetings, with lights and some movable chairs for adults. A stove and some serving equipment was provided which made hot lunches possible for pupils and social meetings for adults. Provision was made for a community library, operated in coöperation with the State Library Association and the State university library. Reasonable equipment was provided for dramatics and the revival of many of the group recreational events of a generation past. The school grounds served the out-of-doors recreational needs of the community including baseball in the summer. The school equipment was thus turned to the all-year-round play and recreational needs of the community.

It gave encouragement and, if necessary, leadership to needed community movements such as the Parent-Teacher Association, 4-H Club work, the Red Cross, scouting, public health, agricultural and home-economics extension. Some of these became a part of extracurricular activities of the school while others were given leadership in their beginning and later turned over to local leadership.

Outstanding among these schools was the manner in which they were recognizing both the opportunity and the responsibility for the emergency education of adults. They might be said to be living out Thorndike's "Learning from Six to Sixty." The Federal plan of adult education was receiving coöperation both in continuation and vocational classes as well as in the beginnings of retraining for the unadjusted man and woman. A num-

ber of schools have employed new staffs for this work. They appear to agree with Germane that "The school should help the parents interpret their home and community problems in order that they, in turn, may help the teacher with her school problems."

Village and country life is interpreted both to youth and to adults at its best. Without overlooking its limitations it is portrayed in dignity as a superior culture. This is interpreted through volumes in the library on village and farm life set in the problems of today, through home-talent plays, and through a recognition of such agrarian seasonal occasions as "May Day," "the planting moon," and "the harvest moon." These and others are made special occasions in which the school is the agency for the observance of occasions very deep-seated in the culture of village and farm people. A number of similar events were said to have been planned with a view to developing a spirit of closer coöperation between village and farm people. These were promoted particularly by consolidated school systems.

The school, recognizing that its status will be determined by the future of the community, kept before the people the need for long-term planning in those things which represent its major interests. One school-board chairman said, "we get speakers who will lead the community to see the need of looking far ahead in everything it does." Obviously the school cannot give technical leadership in such community planning but it can keep the attention of the community directed that way. Most any community can get help for such a program from various private agencies as well as from its State organizations, boards, and institutions including its State university and its State department of education. In all of this the local editor is a most worthy ally.

Constructive consideration is given to the unfortunate and underprivileged of the community. In the school system this is arranged for through the opportunity room or some modifica-

tion of that plan. This takes the teacher into the homes of unadjusted pupils and gives the opportunity for council and guidance in situations which may become acute. Through information carried to the school, the teacher learns of need or distress in the community and arranges for care as far as the facilities of the community provide. Many teachers are now serving on emergency relief committees or directly aiding in carrying out the work to be done. In this they become modified social workers.

Prominence is given to local leadership in all possible school events. Whenever feasible a member of the school board or other local person presides at all functions. The people are made to understand that the school is their institution to conduct and that the employed personnel are their public servants.

The foregoing is gleaned from reports of schools that are being conducted under financial conditions which might otherwise have meant relative failure. It presents a picture of the school which recognizes its task as being that of a community-service institution doing those things the community wants done and is willing to pay for. Obviously good organization and administration are essential but not ends in themselves. A recent study of school-bond elections showed that such issues succeeded in communities where the school served the needs of the people and failed where it did not. Another study made of unemployed teachers shows a marked tendency by communities to retain those teachers who are *community minded* and to release those who are not.

It is understood that the logical import of the conclusions of the study here presented may run counter to the educational philosophy of many. They are presented with a full knowledge of certain implications which may be incompatible with some of our present standards and procedures. A plan involving these services implies new tasks for the teacher. Community responsibilities may need to be a part of the teachers' weekly time

schedule. It may necessitate additional personnel both in the local system and in the administrative office of the county superintendent in order that supervision may be given such activities as adult education including vocational retraining. It will also involve a larger budget which it is believed the people will provide in view of the larger service rendered. An increased budget will necessitate a further extension of the equalized school-fund principle which provides for the taxing of wealth where it is to educate children where they are.

Such a system will require rather radical changes in teacher training to render the teacher competent to exercise community leadership, which implies a working knowledge of sociology and psychology applied to local social situations in which adults and not children are the determinants. It has been reported that among teachers who lose their jobs four per cent are due to a lack of knowledge of technical subject matter, while ninety per cent are due to an inability to get along harmoniously with people.

Such a program would necessitate an entire restatement of the goals of public education. It would also involve a new standard of measurement for the school system in which new categories would be given a rather prominent place. Likewise the rating of teachers would be upon a somewhat different basis in which local social participation and leadership would be prominent. In this the autocratic school executive of the present day would probably rank rather low.

In considering the results of this study, the experience of peoples culturally older than we shed a luminous ray. From various corners of the earth, culminating in the folk schools of Denmark, we see the efforts of peoples to meet change with change which appears to represent our logical next step in the conduct of public education.

SCHOOL COSTS AND SCHOOL SERVICE

JUNIUS L. MERIAM

J. L. Meriam is supplementing his well-known experiment at the University of Missouri by directing two schools in the vicinity of Los Angeles with emphasis upon a curriculum in terms of home life and community affairs.

Three billions! These are dollars expended upon education in one year.

Six billions! These are dollars devoted to building construction in one year.

Twelve billions! Dollars in passenger automobiles spent in one year.

Three hundred billions! The value of all tangible property in 1930.

Fifteen hundred billions! Value of human resources in the United States in 1930.¹

Even the first and smallest of these values is so far beyond the comprehension of school people—and many others—as to really mean little, almost nothing in the problem of school maintenance. Nothing? Perhaps yet worse! Money is the root of all evil, the Scriptures have long declared. The publication of these almost incomprehensible amounts of money may have “turned the heads” of those who are concerned with education and school welfare. Four times as much money spent in one year upon passenger automobiles as upon the whole of our educational program seems to justify the complaint that a larger share of the eighty billions’ income for one year be devoted to teachers’ salaries, to materials of instruction, to school buildings.

School costs—in terms of dollars! It does cost dollars to conduct our schools. No one would seriously question this. Increase the schools’ efficiency (whatever that may mean) and the costs

¹ These approximation figures are taken from the *Research Bulletin* of the National Education Association for November 1932.

are increased, not necessarily proportionately, but at least very considerably. And the efficiency of our schools has increased greatly in recent decades, it is confidently claimed. Commercial prosperity prior to 1929 and financial depression since that date have severally and jointly contributed to center much attention upon the costs of our public schools. The title of this article implies a consideration of service in connection with or in contrast to costs. The reader will see the relationship better if he reviews briefly the emphasis given to costs, as represented by the Research Division of the National Education Association.

The *Research Bulletin* for January and March 1924 deals with "Current Facts on City School Costs." In the foreword, Secretary Crabtree says:

The effect of the general desire for tax reduction and of the movement to reduce school costs, led by interests and agencies opposed to the extension of public school privileges, cannot be predicted. It is certain, however, that unless the public is informed and aroused the schools will receive a setback. The economic and political situation gives encouragement to the opposition. . . . Everything depends on adequately informing the public. . . .

To inform the public is the purpose of this *Bulletin*.

The increase in school costs seems to call for explanation. And adequate explanation is justification. The lay public is responsible for increase in population and indeed the proportionately greater increase in school attendance is due to change in industrial conditions more than to inducements by the school. The responsible public must, therefore, pay the bills.

A year later (May 1925) the *Research Bulletin* presents another study, "Taking Stock of the Schools." Again in the foreword, Secretary Crabtree speaks: ". . . there are those who say we cannot afford to have better schools. They are wrong. In this *Bulletin* facts are presented that cannot be denied." The central question in this study is: "Are the schools costing too much?" An emphatic "No" is the answer, based upon a compari-

son with other expenditures. For example, more was spent for cigars, cigarettes, and tobacco in 1924 than for education. The amount spent for soft drinks, ice cream, chewing gum, and candy is slightly less than that for education. *Therefore* (for "figures do not lie, . . .") it is contended that our schools do not cost too much.

But a second contention is made in answering the question: "Are the schools getting results?" Representative answers are the following: "Education is our most valuable form of capital." "Educated customers make for good business." "Ability to read with ease is essential to modern advertising methods." ". . . Earning power increases with education." Figures are given to show that "the child that stays out of school to earn less than \$9.02 a day is losing money, not making money." These pages present results of education in terms of financial gains to the individual.

In less than another year (January and March 1926) the *Research Bulletin* reports a study on "The Ability of the States to Support Education." This is essentially a statistical comparison of the economic resources of the forty-eight States. The conclusion is reached: ". . . certain sections will . . . provide school facilities distinctly inferior to those found in other sections. At least this will be true in so far as financial support determines the character of school facilities."

A series of two *Bulletins*, November 1926 and January 1927, include studies of "Major Issues in School Finance." The emphasis is again upon costs for the support of schools, but the conclusion is reached that the nation's resources are ample whatever be the costs.

The *Research Bulletin* for September 1927 is entitled, "The Advance of the American School System." The nature of this "advance" is indicated in the titles of the sections: lengthening and enriching life; providing adequate school plants; school

attendance; teacher compensation; a living curriculum; becoming a nation of eighth graders; adequate school support. Except for the fifth one, these evidences of progress are essentially school centered in which costs are a large consideration. Number five is largely a table (after Cubberley) showing the changes in our elementary-school subjects from 1775 to 1900.

The following year (November 1928), "Can the Nation Afford to Educate Its Children" is the title of a *Research Bulletin*. Another *Bulletin* followed two months later (January 1929) with a supplement: "Can the States afford to Educate Their Children?" Wealth, income, and school support are the central topics in each *Bulletin*. In the foreword is the statement: "In nearly all of the States the legislature faces the problem of securing funds for public schools." Again school costs!

"Investing in Public Education" is the title for the *Bulletin* appearing in September 1930. Secretary Crabtree continues his foreword: "The taxpayer's contact with the school is not close. . . . His understanding of the school is too often based on the reports of children or the misrepresentation of a self-seeking politician. . . . The school can rise above them (misunderstandings) by making known its purposes and accomplishments." Director of Research Norton continues to exhibit through figures and charts the ability of the public to pay for its schools.

In March and May 1930 two *Bulletins* present "A Self-survey Plan for State School Systems," ". . . in response to many requests received by the research division for a method of evaluating State school systems." It is not now surprising that the survey outlined is largely directed to administrative aspects involving school costs.

The *Bulletin* for May 1932 deals with "Estimating State School Efficiency." "Five factors related to efficiency" are: proportion of children reached; holding power of the schools; qual-

ity of teaching provided; material school environment; per cent of literacy. Again school costs are prominent.

Further bulletins of this character are: "Facts on School Costs" (November 1932); "Salaries in City School Systems" (March 1933); "Constructive Economy in Education" (September 1933); "Current Conditions in the Nation's Schools" (November 1933); "Five Years of State School Revenue Legislation" (January 1934).

Attention has been called to only this one series of educational publications. The emphasis upon school costs in this series alone is very considerable. And equal is the emphasis upon the ability of the public to meet these costs.

Good things usually cost money—or effort. American education is generally regarded as good. Figures show that it is expensive: three billion dollars. What are the effects of the publication of the costs of education in these *Bulletins* during the past ten years? The general public is probably blissfully ignorant of these *Research Bulletins*. But this same public obviously discovers through indirect means that small property owners and large corporations are paying these costs. Then comes their reaction, expressed through school boards and State legislatures. The Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education was appointed by the National Education Association in February 1933 "to inquire into the difficulties, financial and otherwise, which the schools were encountering, and to take action aimed to end these difficulties." Circulars, mimeographed and printed, are rather widely scattered, broadcasting an appeal Save Our Schools. Money is needed to keep schools from closing. Money is needed to retain teachers and provide materials for instruction. A report on "Education in the Drought States," issued in October 1934, presents a map showing this emergency appeal coming from Michigan in the East to Oregon and California in the West.

One of the means of appeal is the presentation of figures, as

in the bulletins referred to above, to show that the general public has resources sufficient to meet these high costs. But this is not adequately convincing to secure a return of needed funds. A second means is to make claims in educational publications that the modern school gives adequate attention to character development and adequate preparation for life. Statements of schoolmen are not always convincing to laymen and funds wanted for the schools are not supplied.

The emergency in education is indeed serious. The way out is by no means simple. Many suggestions are needed which together may bring relief, more permanent than temporary. The title of this article and that of this issue of *THE JOURNAL* are suggestive of a point of view scarcely advocated.

On Sunday, December 3, 1933, over the National Broadcasting network the public listened to a dialogue between the president of a public-service corporation and a professor of education. The topic was: "Public Responsibility for Education." The discussion centered upon costs and taxation. Did the two men or most of their hearers think of changing the wording of the title to one more pertinent, School Responsibility to the Public? A few years ago Suzzallo gave to the public a little volume, *Our Faith in Education*. Our public schools from kindergarten through the State's university should be grateful to the public for the confidence placed in the schools and indeed for the generous financial support. The public has been willing to accept the schoolman's statement as to the value of an education. But in recent years there is developing an earnest skepticism—a veritable product of the more progressive schools. That skepticism is questioning the conventional values of the traditional school. The late "project method" and the present "activity program" are mild expressions of school response to a growing demand for the infusion of more of real life into our elementary schools. The experiment, initiated by the Progressive Education Association, in which

twenty-seven selected high schools are free to conduct their work independent of conventional entrance requirements, is another expression of the results of frankly questioning traditional school practice. Of course, many prominent men in business and industry will continue to call for the good old three R's, on the tacit assumption that the traditional three-R schooling has been the cause of American greatness. One result, by reason of that old curriculum or in spite of it, is that the common man is now thinking as he never did before, and one direction of his thinking is that of life values for schoolwork. Our public schools are essentially an investment. The common man and other thinking men will demand before long—perhaps very soon—that their investments in schools yield returns in human service far more real than the “general discipline” of the old school.

“The development of innate abilities and interests, of high standards of taste and appreciation, of social understanding, of wholesome social attitudes and habits, the cultivation of a mind at once appreciative and critical of the society of which it is part—*these* are fundamentals of education.”² Essentially this was claimed by the writer as early as 1909,³ maintaining that the normal activities of children are more fundamental in educational procedure than are the three R's. This leads to a very brief statement of the school service referred to in the title of this article. How can our public schools render service to the public so that in the emergency in education, as at present, the taxpayers and the general public will not allow their benefactor to suffer.

In a word, the curriculum must be strictly in terms of the life activities which we seek to improve. This is to prevail in both the elementary grades and in the high school. The objective must be

² Institute of Educational Research, Division of Field Studies, *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago, Illinois* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University), 1932.

³ *Proceedings of the National Education Association* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association), 1909.

that of home and community service rather than making advancement through the hierarchy of a school system.

During early childhood play life is dominant. Wholesome play is generously approved in the home and in the community. Those who are responsible for the care of children appreciate the service of schools in helping these children in their games and their frolic. But beware! Books that have such a title as *Two Hundred Games that Teach* and schools using play to motivate the three R's are misleading the public and doing damage to children. Play for wholesome fun should have a large place in the curriculum of the early grades.

The story functions large in the lives of children. Story books, if good, are children's staunchest friends. Most children have too few companionable books. Difficulties in learning to read are almost nil if children are surrounded by good books with much freedom and time to read. Generously equipped story rooms in our schools will render real service to home and community.

Boys and girls delight in being busy with their hands. To make things is in harmony with their natures. A great variety of construction work at school develops inclination and ability to render real service at home. Shopwork, cooking, sewing, crafts tend to develop a good attitude towards industrial activities later.

Young people need to become better acquainted with the wonderfully complex environment in which they live: a physical environment and a social environment. This calls for study, becoming more and more serious as pupils advance from year to year. Such studies in school carry over into home life as the conventional "homework" never does.

Thus, the elementary-school program has four major groups of childlike activities intimately related to normal life. If we must think in terms of achievements in the conventional subjects, there are objective records to support the judgment that in these normal activities, if vigorously carried on, the pupils acquire abil-

ities to read, write, and cipher even more efficiently than by means of the traditional course of study. Further, when these pupils become high-school students, they excel those of the conventional schooling.

This same general program is applicable in the high school. The traditional English, algebra, history, etc., are largely preparatory courses for college entrance. Comparatively little of such work touches the normal life of youth. These young people should be made aware of the larger phases of real life. This may be viewed as consisting of labor and industry on the one hand, and leisure and recreation on the other. As a means of enriching and improving both, considerable information is needed, in so far as it is strictly relevant. But never knowledge for knowledge's sake. It is a comparatively simple problem so to schedule all the current high-school subjects as to contribute to these three phases of life. For example, under the caption of labor and industry may be listed shopwork, commercial skills as in stenography, typing, bookkeeping, etc., also household arts and the various crafts. Under leisure and recreation may be grouped English literature (when it is treated as authors intended), foreign language if on a par with English literature, also, art, music, athletics, etc. In real life the third group is absorbed in the other two—that is we acquire information as needed to function in labor and leisure activities. But in school we may schedule a group of informational studies: history, physics, chemistry, mathematics, etc.

To simplify the administration of these three groups, a six-hour high-school day may be scheduled in three two-hour periods, one period for each group. Experience will effectively change the content of these traditional subjects. Their identity will be lost in the three major phases of social-industrial life.

When the elementary and secondary schools reconstruct their work so as to contact intimately real life and thus render service, the general public will the more generously rally to their support.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

RESEARCH AT THE CHRISTMAS MEETINGS

The Christmas meetings of the American Sociological Society,¹ which were devoted to the general topic, "Human Problems of Social Planning," gave a large emphasis to research. Thirty or more of the papers presented dealt with some aspect of research problems in the social field.

A number of topics important to research in educational sociology were presented by various speakers. One of these was a discussion of the scale of occupational status by Mapheus Smith of the University of Kansas. The importance of achieving an objective scale for rating occupations lies in part in the possible use of occupations as indices of economic levels and cultural backgrounds. By the use of a rating or ranking method Smith was able to identify an average numerical rating with each occupation. A study of 600 occupations by this method translated into units on a 100 scale made possible their representation upon a two-dimensional chart and presented a somewhat skewed curve of distribution, which had a close correspondence with the judgments of college students as to the relative status of these occupations.

Several papers were devoted to research dealing with relief workers. These researches raised questions as to the employability of these workers and the contribution that education needs to make, both from the standpoint of better equipment of the population for vocational adjustment and of reëducation of persons now unemployable.

A number of the papers at the meetings dealt with the problems of social planning and raised the question of the relation of education to social planning. In almost every instance education was pointed out as having an important function to perform in the preparation for and direction of social planning. Research into the contribution that education should make to social planning appears to be an important undertaking in the light of these presentations.

Several papers were devoted to the topic "Social Statistics in the Federal

¹ Held at the Hotel Morrison, Chicago, Illinois, December 26 to 29, 1934.

Emergency Relief Administration Research Program." These presentations are of interest to educational sociology because of the wide use of relief workers in educational research. The statistical projects of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration which are carried out by State and local work-relief programs were reviewed by Frederic S. Stephan, a sociologist who is coördinator of statistical projects at Washington and who furnishes advice on technical problems, suggests improvements in procedure, and coördinates projects to prevent overlapping, duplication, and conflicts. A tabulation of the first 500 projects reviewed favorably revealed the following distribution:

comprehensive planning and social surveys	34
governmental organizations and taxation	55
education and schools	42
social welfare and relief	44
health and sanitation	49
population	42
occupation, employment, unemployment	32
culture	32
prices, business, industry	35
mortgages, real property, and land utilization	67
traffic	49
historical research and records	29

Of particular interest to educational sociologists were the critical analyses of the reports of the Commission on Social Studies of the American Historical Association.² These papers were presented in the section on educational sociology, as were also papers dealing with research into the sociology of college life.

Another group of papers of interest to educational sociology dealt with the methodology of family research. Mildred Parten of Yale University discussed certain methodological problems of family research arising out of the fact that the unit of investigation is the group rather than the individual—such as the needs for more clear-cut definitions, development of base material for comparative purposes, more adequate techniques for sur-

² Papers presented at the Christmas meetings of the American Sociological Society will be published in the annual volume of the proceedings of the society and in the *American Journal of Sociology*, the official organ of the society. In addition to the *American Journal of Sociology* the Society recognizes the three following publications: *Social Forces*, *Sociology and Social Research*, and *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*. Some of the papers presented at the meeting will appear in these periodicals.

veying the general family population, and techniques for obtaining norms of family behavior patterns. Carl C. Zimmerman of Harvard University discussed significant types of family research. His paper presented and criticized the hypotheses used in family research and set forth the reasons of the speaker for believing that these hypotheses are based on presuppositions of linear progress, upon inadequate historical knowledge, upon fantastic evolutionary ideas concerning social organization, upon wish fulfillment, and upon forms of social thinking which appeared to be illogical. He then presented a series of strict hypotheses for family research which he believed would meet these objections.

John Dollard of Yale University presented a paper which was a statement of point of view in the field of family research. His ideas should be helpful in orienting research activities. He stated that the most needed point of view does not fall within the field of family research at all, but is rather one in the total field of social science; it calls for a clear, coherent system of concepts which identify the object of study and permit isolation of important problems for further study.

An important paper dealing with the continuity of research in relation to social planning was presented by Neva R. Deardorff of the Research Department of the New York City Welfare Council. Dr. Deardorff pointed out that "continuity in planning has little chance without continuity of purposive attitudes in the social body to exercise control within given fields of activity." She stated as the ideal for a good research program attached to a planning body a twofold goal: first, to seek to establish findings in such a way that they will rest on genuine, scientific foundations, and, second, that they will also be specifically related to the same work and purpose to which the planning body is dedicated. The importance of continuing research to be carried on concurrently with continuing planning is well emphasized. The speaker stated that "a network of relationship should keep social research centers in close contact with one another for coöperative enterprises, for developing continuity of interest, and for relating otherwise isolated and departed projects." It is interesting to note in this connection that repeated proposals for the establishment of a research clearing house on a voluntary basis of conference and consultation has never been favorably received by the agencies of research (including the welfare council) working in the New York area.

Several papers of especial interest to educational sociology dealt with the general topic of the application of research to college teaching and coun-

selling. The use of research materials in the teaching of courses on marriage and the family was discussed by Mildred C. Thurow of the Merrill-Palmer School of Detroit. Her paper presented three ways in which research material had been used in undergraduate college courses on the family and marriage: first, the use of formal research studies as content material; second, the use of case studies; and, third, the use of student research projects.

Mary S. Fisher of Sarah Lawrence College discussed possible research projects for sociologists as viewed from the field of child development.

Another topic of particular interest in educational sociology discussed in several papers was the technique for prediction in criminology. The so-called actuarial method already familiar to the business world has been applied to the problems of classification of prisoners within institutions and the prediction of violation of parole. This research method has real interest in its possible application to the prediction of truancy, delinquency, and other school behaviors. By its application there is a possibility that the potential truant and delinquent, as well as the potentially successful child, could be determined in advance, a procedure that would make possible the application of preventive methods to forestall undesirable outcomes for the school child.

A final paper of interest in the field of educational sociology was that presented by Stewart G. Cole of the Crozer Theological Seminary, which dealt with recreational facilities in Delaware County, Pennsylvania.

This study has been published under the title: *Leisure in Our Time: A Survey of Recreational Opportunities in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, 1934*.⁸ It was made under the joint auspices of the Delaware County Park Board and the Delaware County Welfare Council. The purpose of the investigation was to acquaint the community with resources available for indoor and outdoor recreational programming and to furnish a reliable basis for projecting a more adequate program for leisure time.

An appeal to the CWA for help was rewarded to the extent of \$3,500. The staff of fact-finders included engineers, statisticians, architects, teachers, and lawyers from the ranks of the unemployed. They did a rather thorough piece of work. The battery of questionnaires and the appraisal schedule which was used to interpret the gathered data were made available by the National Recreation Association. After the material had been gathered and base map, spot maps, and charts were finished, Professor

⁸Prospect Park, Pa.: Harold G. Smith, 1934. The above statement has been provided through the courtesy of Stewart G. Cole.

Stewart G. Cole was commissioned to make an analysis of the findings and to offer an interpretation. This, together with the charts and maps, has been published in the monograph.

The most significant part of the study is the master chart which presumes to offer a bird's-eye view of the present situation with reference to recreational facilities and programing in Delaware County in terms of each of the forty-six boroughs. The patterns of this chart together with the appraisal schedule and the thirteen proposals for further programing merit close study. They represent a method of community study and social programing.

BOOK REVIEWS

Survey of Contemporary Sociology, edited by HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1934, 755 pages.

This survey of contemporary sociology is unique in that it presents facts of current sociology from the newspaper with the assumption that the complex group relationships of human beings constitute the subject matter of sociology. The author assumes, further, that since the newspaper records all the important facts of human relationships in the course of the year, the entire aggregate of the news is of sociological significance. With these assumptions the author proceeds to assemble the news of the year under such headings as "The People," "The Family," "Social Control," and so forth. The significance of the book, therefore, does not lie in the newness of the facts because every sociologist and educator will be familiar with them but rather in the organization and interpretation of the news of the year. The extreme care and the logical exactness with which the editor has assembled and interpreted the news makes this yearbook intensely fascinating and of extreme value to the educator and student of sociology.

An Introduction to Educational Sociology, by ROSS L. FINNEY and LESLIE D. ZELENY. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1934, 332 pages.

The increasing literature, both of books and periodical discussions, relating to sociology in its application not only to education in general, and the school in particular, but also to the work of the classroom teacher, indicates the growing recognition of education and teaching as a sociologi-

cal function. This emphasis though somewhat belated is distinctly encouraging and will inevitably lead to a thoroughgoing reconsideration of school administration, supervision, and instruction in line with the needs of modern living. The book under review emphasizes one aspect of sociological interpretation; namely, some sociological insights into problems daily confronting teachers and supervisors. The strength of the book lies partly in the limitation of its treatment to one aspect of the problem of education and partly in the excellence of the treatment of the problems included. The enumeration of the main headings, I The Community and the Teacher, II Social Interaction in the Classroom, III Culture, Social Institutions, and Education, IV Social Control in the School, indicate the vital importance of this book as a text for normal schools, teachers colleges, and schools of education.

American Social Problems, by WALTER G. BEACH and EDWARD E. WALKER. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1934, 391 pages.

The purpose of this volume, as stated by the authors, is to stimulate the interest of young students in their own social world not only by isolated parts about particular problems but also by becoming clearly conscious of the underlying unity in social life. This purpose is well fulfilled. The book itself demonstrates this unity, the language is nontechnical, and the factual data is presented in such a way as to stimulate thought. The problems discussed include: culture, population, rural and urban groups, the American family, etc.

Fascism and Social Revolution, by R. PALME DUTT. New York: International Publishers, 1934, 296 pages.

Until a few years ago fascism has been frequently referred to as a bugaboo of communist propaganda. Today it can no longer be disposed of so lightly. It is an established fact today in Italy, Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, and in a number of other European countries. In *Fascism and Social Revolution*, R. Palme Dutt, editor of the *British Labor Monthly*, analyzes the principles and practices of fascism in all countries where it has come to power. This analysis leads him to the inevitable conclusion that the basic causes of fascism are present as well in all other countries of western Europe and America—fascism being essentially the result of the inner conflicts and contradictions of modern capitalism. Fascism, however, does not value any of these contradictions. Only a complete revolutionary change in the control and ownership of the means of production by the working class can solve the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalist society.

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EDITORIAL

Education in this country during the last fifteen years has been drawing closer to the life problems that face the students in our schools and colleges. The rapid increase of courses on the family and the practical character of this instruction are the most convincing expressions of this trend. There has long been an interest in the philosophic and historical aspects of the family as a social institution, but in recent years there has developed a new literature dealing with the family as a relationship. Instruction, stressing the biological, psychological, and sociological problems of family association, is now being given widely in our colleges and universities and increasingly in high schools, professional schools, and courses for adult education.

Very recently, colleges, social organizations, and churches have begun to offer instruction in preparation for marriage. For the tenth time a course discussing all the major problems of marriage will be offered this year to the senior men of the college and the students of the professional schools at the University of North Carolina. The need of preparation for marriage is being more and more realized by thoughtful people and courses on marriage would be increasing in our college programs even more rapidly were it not for the hesitancy of college administrators who see clearly that this type of instruction cannot carry out its purposes unless it handles frankly problems of marriage experience that in

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the past could not have been included in any form of public teaching without violating American mores. The present situation is such that there is opportunity to provide a scientific and constructive interpretation of marriage problems, in accord with the modern way of meeting life, and the need of this instruction is so great and youth's appreciation of it, when it is factual, definite, and practical, so sincere that we have every reason to suppose that marriage courses will soon be as well established in our educational program as are at present courses on the family.

The authors of the following articles are all actively at work in the movement to give youth a more adequate preparation for family responsibility, for parenthood, and for marriage. They write with a background of experience. All of them are authors of books that are much appreciated. Dr. Paul Popenoe, biologist and eugenicist, is perhaps best known as the organizer of the Institute of Family Relations, the first family clinic in the United States; Miss Sadie J. Swenson has been a pioneer in developing instruction on the family in our high schools; Dr. Meyer F. Nimkoff, in addition to his contribution as a college instructor, directs a family clinic service. The Reverend Edgar Schmiedeler is in charge of the family-life section of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Dr. Albert W. Beaven, pastor, and head of the Colgate Rochester Divinity School, is also a former president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

ERNEST R. GROVES

EDUCATION AND EUGENICS

PAUL POPENOE

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Eugenics rests on two axioms so simple that a child can understand them. If a people is to survive, it must produce in each year, or each generation, enough children to take the places of those who die during that period. And if it is to avoid deterioration which would also prevent survival, it must encourage childbearing from the part of the population that is, in general, fit, rather than predominantly from the mentally diseased, the mentally deficient, and the physically defective.

How can education favor these two necessary conditions of national existence?

1. Young people must be educated to choose their mates wisely. This involves the building up of right attitudes from infancy onward; and it also involves some information concerning heredity. With nearly 10 per cent of the whole population destined to break down from mental disease at some time during life, with about 5 per cent of the population so lacking in abstract intelligence that it has an I.Q. of 70 or less, and with widespread physical defects, it is important that accurate knowledge concerning the inheritable factors be widespread. This is needed both to discourage unwise matings and to prevent overanxiety and needless fears. Not later than the junior high school, it should be possible to give pupils some sound ideas about heredity, incidentally, in connection with many of the courses in the present curriculum.

If such knowledge is to be used, frankness and honesty about one's own family must become somewhat more customary. There is a widespread tendency to feel that concealment or misrepresentation of unpleasant facts in one's ancestry is entirely legitimate. Not merely must a more objective attitude be encouraged, but ways must be found to make family histories more public. Such

a change, running against deep-seated prejudices, will naturally be slow.

Any attempt to build up sound attitudes on this point should certainly take pains to preserve perspective and balance. One minor defect must not be allowed to outweigh many valuable qualities, either in one's estimate of one's self or in evaluating a possible mate.

2. It is useless to educate people for wise choices in mating, unless they will have an opportunity to put this ability into practice. They must therefore be given a chance to make acquaintances; and the high schools (and colleges) must take as much pains to see that no student escapes a normal social development, as they now take to see that no student escapes a general knowledge of English literature.

It appears from a number of studies that, in the educated part of the population, more marriages result from meetings in school and college than from any other one source. And these marriages turn out well, for the partners have to a large degree the common background and outlook on life that makes for success. If one does not marry a fellow student, one may marry the brother or sister or friend of a fellow student. Beyond this, one's ability to marry at all will depend to some extent on having been socialized in high school or college.

Much could be done by a course in personal relations; or by a unit on personal relations in a course on orientation, on family relations, or elsewhere. This would discuss such questions as these: What is a pleasing personality? How can it be acquired? What is the basis of friendship? It would particularly deal with the psychological differences between the sexes—one of the most neglected yet most important subjects in education. The girl who would be popular must make a study (some know it intuitively) of what attracts boys, and must learn that a successful technique is built up on a typically feminine basis of allurements, not on a

masculine basis of aggressiveness. Boys must get some elementary ideas of feminine psychology to correspond.

But the most important part of this problem is to be solved outside the classroom and depends on extracurricular activities. Every high-school and college student must be forced to make many acquaintances, in an informal way. It is a matter of common knowledge that this is now not always the case. A boy may go to a coeducational institution for four years without getting better acquainted with any girl than to say "Good morning" to her as they pass in the hall, if he happens to be seated near her in some class, and therefore feels free to take that liberty. A girl may go to a coeducational institution for four years, and never have a "date" during the entire time. Such persons are not educated! The usual attempt to remedy this situation by promoting social affairs often makes matters worse rather than better. Those who know they will enjoy themselves are the ones who go; and they do not especially need it. Those who particularly need the socialization are likely to stay at home, or, if they go, are allowed to spend the evening as wall flowers, and return more convinced than ever that they are failures in life, that they cannot be popular, that no one is interested in them. The next time a social affair is given, they too will probably stay at home. It is not rare to find, even in high schools where a special effort is made to provide a wholesome social life, that not more than 50 per cent of the students attend the various affairs that are given.

Space will not allow an adequate discussion of this topic, but a few suggestions may be made. One of the best methods of getting the students acquainted is through class excursions and field trips. The members of a biology class can get better acquainted on a Saturday at the beach than in a dozen class parties and artificial "mixers"; and, best of all, no one can stay away, yet no one goes feeling that he has to go in order to be "done good to." The homeroom lends itself well to this purpose, also, especially if the

teacher will detail groups or committees of students, carefully selected as to personality and sex, to make investigations and reports on various subjects.

All sorts of special interest groups—music, art, dramatic, hiking and athletic, collecting, hobby—form a suitable basis for social life. They can be made much more effective by the intelligent and unostentatious aid of a senior cabinet or some other substitute for the “Big Brother” and “Big Sister” movement. If a shy freshman girl finds that her acquaintance is cultivated by an admired senior, if the latter urges her to join the orchestra or the writers’ club, she may respond much more readily than she does to even the most persuasive dean of women or official counselor. So far as possible, credit should be given for these group activities in order to encourage participation.

Social affairs in the curriculum are quite feasible. The home-economics girls may give a practice tea for the boys; the physical-education department may offer a credit course in social dancing, with a hand-picked enrollment. Finally, the best school social affairs are not the formal ones in the evening, but the informal hikes, or dances at lunch or after the last period of the afternoon. The advantage here is that every one stays and dances “just as they are”; no one goes home and then refrains from coming back because she “hasn’t a thing to wear.”

Once the situation is recognized, any high school or college can, with a little imagination and determination, give every student a chance to develop emotionally and socially, quite as much as intellectually.

3. Students must also be given some definite education for successful marriage. This is important eugenically because happy couples have more children than do unhappy couples, and those who go into the divorce court have few or none. In so far as the schools are dealing with good eugenic material, they cannot afford to see it wasted by failure in marriage.

Moreover, success in marriage is perpetuated from generation to generation to a considerable extent, so that the results achieved at this point carry over from parents to children. Unhappy married persons come from unhappy homes in childhood, at least twice as frequently as do happily married persons. Part of this is doubtless due to inherent differences of the families in intelligence, emotional stability, and good health; but much of it is undoubtedly educational.

4. Students must be given proper education for vocational choice and the attainment of economic competence. This is likely to promote (a) earlier marriage and (b) more children per married couple. The delay in average age of marriage, resulting from a college education, is sometimes one of the most harmful results. It is often increased by letting students go into debt for their education, so that they have to work for several years to pay off these debts before they can consider marriage. This is likely to give them a less favorable choice of mate, and also to diminish the size of family. After marriage, the number of children is associated with success in one's vocation, and with economic sufficiency. Since the high schools and, to an even greater extent, the colleges deal with young people who are eugenically superior to the average of the population, it is a misfortune to have the marriage and birth rates of these young people reduced as a result of the education they have received. Eugenically, society should expect that these superior young people should be so educated as to have higher marriage and birth rates than the average, not lower. Whatever can be done to shorten the educational period for the most superior, to enable them to become self-supporting, able to marry, and to have children, at an earlier age, will be of far-reaching importance eugenically. The importance of this aspect of higher education has been too often overlooked.

5. Young people must also be educated for parenthood. This makes them more likely to have children, because they are more

interested and less fearful; and makes them more likely to raise successfully to maturity such children as they do have. In this brief paper I shall not attempt to outline the essentials of education, either for marriage or for parenthood. They are dealt with elsewhere, and I am here concerned merely to point out their eugenic significance.

It should be emphasized, however, that this education must be started somewhere about the junior-high-school level, if it is to reach the bulk of the population. After that, it is too late to affect all students, because many of them are dropping out, either to marry or to take jobs. It will not do to postpone education for parenthood to the college level, since most young people do not go to college. On the other hand, it will not do to omit the subject in college, because the college students are a particularly selected lot who should be better educated for marriage and parenthood than any other part of the population.

6. Young people should be educated in eugenics as a matter of citizenship. They will be called on to support or reject all sorts of proposals which will either promote or hinder eugenic progress. They must know how to tell the difference and be able to make intelligent choices.

In addition to the axioms stated in the first paragraph of this paper, any school child can be given a grasp of the idea of the continuity of the germ plasm and of heredity. This can begin in the elementary grades, through nature study. He should then get some simple, general notions about present conditions.

Educators know, though the general public does not, that the population of the United States is no longer increasing at a sufficient rate to reproduce itself. There are actually fewer children of kindergarten and primary age in America than there were ten years ago, and it is only a matter of a few decades when this cessation of growth will reach all age levels. Americans have been accustomed to a steadily and rapidly growing population

ever since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and it will be hard for them to realize that the population is growing smaller year by year, instead of larger—as will soon be the case. When this condition is reached, or even approached clearly enough to be recognized, there is likely to be some public excitement, and a demand either for lessening the restrictions on immigration or for promoting population growth by economic and social measures. It will be of the highest importance that the voters should by that time be able to discriminate between a good and a bad population policy. If a eugenic program is adopted, the nation may be as much strengthened as it would be weakened by the kind of measures that would produce quantity at the expense of quality. Unfortunately, in a democracy there is always a tendency in the latter direction. The future of America depends largely on whether in the next generation educators can produce citizens who will be eugenically minded. Such teaching will be promoted by careful selection of teachers as to normal personality, sound ethical and social attitudes; and an increase in the number of married women and, particularly, married men in the faculties.

The general facts can be brought to the attention of students through a wide range of courses in biology, social science, citizenship, history, psychology, home economics, and the like. Then the outlines of a sound eugenic policy of population control, in its negative and positive aspects, can be suggested.

On the negative side the excessive reproduction of the unfit can be checked by a number of simple measures. The abolition of child labor will remove the economic incentive to childbearing in a part of the population that produces children who are, on the whole, below par. Raising the minimum age of marriage (which in some States is still 12 years for girls and 14 for boys) will keep the kind of people who are uneducated or uneducable from getting a long start in parenthood over the educated classes. Physical examination before marriage and a few days' delay after pub-

lication of intention to wed will prevent many undesirable marriages. Spread of contraceptive information and materials and wider use of voluntary sterilization (with a compulsory provision in the law for use when needed) will prevent the insane and feeble-minded, the irresponsible and reckless, the alcoholic and the indifferent, the chronic paupers, and those parents who produce children in order to get their dole increased from multiplying more rapidly than those who are physically healthy, mentally sound, and emotionally stable.

On the positive side the educational measures which I have been discussing in this paper may well be understood and supported, and the importance of such social and economic changes stressed, as will conserve family life wherever that family life is reasonably sound.

TEACHING FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN A CITY HIGH SCHOOL

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The study in family relationships is a five-credit semester course entitled "Euthenics." It is an elective offered at present to girls in the senior year in the home-economics department. Therefore, the subject matter is greatly influenced by the fact that there are other courses in the department that are equally fundamental to successful living. Besides the regularly required academic subjects and work in foods, dietetics, home management, clothing and art, they have courses in chemistry and applied physics, physiology, and hygiene. Since they have already had considerable instruction in homemaking, the girls come into the euthenics course with a fairly adequate background of the biological and economic aspects of family life. Therefore, more time can be devoted to the psychological and social aspects of personal and family relationships. The age of the pupil is an important factor in teaching this subject. Apparently much better results are gained with the older girls. They are emotionally more mature and they are naturally more vitally interested.

Since young people are more interested in themselves, and rightfully so, we begin our discussion and readings with an attempt to analyze personality, the factors in its development, and the relation of personality to the gaining of either satisfaction or dissatisfaction in life's experience at home and in the community.

The questions: "Why do we believe as we do?" or, "Who am I?" immediately launch us into that problem of heredity and environment with their attendant results in personality make-up. We consider the recognized basic traits of achievement and their relation to hereditary tendencies or environmental circumstances.

Here we draw upon the pupils' background of history and literature for illustrations. This is an attempt to show that success in any undertaking is largely dependent upon personality whether it is in the making of a livelihood or the making of a home. This unit is concluded with three definite exercises.

1. An individual statement in writing from each pupil showing what the study and discussion has meant to her personally.
2. A definite program for personal improvement during the semester. Individual progress is checked at the end of the semester.
3. A study of some favorite character in history or current life looking particularly for these points: (a) What was his early home environment? (b) What did he accomplish? (c) What were the qualities of personality which contributed to his success or which hindered his progress?¹

It is interesting to note here that Abraham Lincoln is always a favorite, but that in last semester's class of thirty-one, ten wrote on the life of Lincoln. The colored girls invariably choose either Lincoln or Booker T. Washington for their study. The second favorite character is Florence Nightingale. Their selection is in no way due to the influence of the teacher. Only a suggestive list is presented to them.

Before we study and discuss some of the psychological and sociological problems that grow out of our present environment we get a historical background for the modern drama of present-day living. Even those pupils who say that they dislike history enjoy the study of history in its relation to the family organization. They are particularly interested in the manifestations of the patriarchal influence in certain present-day families. With an appreciation of the fact that increased authority must necessarily go with increased responsibility they are much more tolerant of

¹ Ernest R. Groves, Edna L. Skinner, and Sadie J. Swenson, *The Family and Its Relationships* (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1932), p. 18.

their parents and others in authority. At this time we take a written inventory of the nationality make-up of the pupils. The teacher as well as all the pupils are keenly interested in knowing who's who. The "pure bloods" of only one nationality for generations are rare. Their parents are most likely to have come from rather recent immigration.

A very definite effort is made to help them appreciate what their own individual racial and national cultures may contribute to finer American life; to help them recognize and appreciate certain characteristics, manners, and customs of their parents. It is hoped that they learn not to be ashamed of the veneer of certain old-time mannerisms in a new environment but to be proud of those sturdy traits of character that have made them succeed in a new environment. Current biography and fiction portraying pioneer life in America are used for illustrative material. They are particularly interested in the immediate foreground of this picture as provided by their own grandparents and the mode of living and thinking before the advent of the machine era that is theirs. We as adults still marvel over the beauty and wonder of the scientific and mechanical genii that minister to our health, comfort, and entertainment. We who remember Saturday-night bathing in the kitchen are continuously grateful for the convenience and luxury of the modern bath "parlor." Youth take for granted as necessities the convenience of the newest and best methods of heating, plumbing, and lighting, not to mention all the devices of cooking and cleaning.

In the study of standards of living on various economic levels, it is difficult for them to believe that less than half of the population of the United States is decently housed or that one third of the families have an income of less than \$1,200. A survey was made in our own city of about 150,000 inhabitants in which were found many homes without bathtubs. The pupils were scandalized and shocked that such a situation existed in their own city.

feeble-minded, the epileptic, and those affected with venereal disease. Many of them are old enough and experienced enough to appreciate the wound that comes with disillusionment.

As the group is usually made up of members both of the Protestant and of the Catholic faith, with an occasional Jewess and a few Negroes, the religious and the racial problems always prove worth while and illuminating. Sometimes one can fairly *feel* their seething opinions as, for instance, the occasion when a Jewess told the class that it is a disgrace for one of her people to marry a Gentile. This provides a wonderful opportunity to smooth out certain prejudices and to review briefly the cultural contribution that the Jews have made to civilization.

They consider the tragedy of intermarriage of different races. If it concerns the Negro race, we encourage the colored girls to express their own point of view freely. So far this has never caused an unpleasant experience. The teacher never loses the opportunity to speak of the need for absolute justice in the law; equal opportunity in education, each race according to its own need and talents; the factors that may lead to better community living, segregation, justice, friendliness, and coöperation in all common problems. Those factors which contribute to success and happiness in marriage and family life are emphasized. Our aim is to build an appreciation of the positive values in human relationships.

As one of the aims of the course is to stimulate an interest in reading and to broaden their field of knowledge, we have them supplement their daily preparations and frequent references with additional work which may take one of several forms. This semester they had a choice of one of the following activities:

1. A paper on her family history or a comparison of the life of the modern girl with that of her grandmother or great-grandmother (covering the decades of about 1860-1900) dealing with the differences in household duties, amusements, manners and

On a test they were asked to name ten possessions in their family that they felt contributed to the standard of living and to state those that they could do without and still maintain a satisfactory standard. Of course their lists were as varied as the individuals in the class. An honor pupil wrote: "We could dispense with the parlor set, some of the electrical appliances, and the heavy overdraperies" although "silk bedspreads and fancy lace pillows" were on her list. Only one girl felt that "the possessions of my family which contribute to my standard of living" must include a wide variety of reference books, conveniences, well-educated parents, automobile, radio, good home environment, as home furnishing, etc. She felt that "we could dispense with some conveniences, as radio and automobile" because the automobile was not used for business purposes.

The importance of true values and proper relationship cannot be overemphasized. For how are young people ever going to marry and live happily and satisfactorily if they do not learn to distinguish between essentials and nonessentials in life and do not confuse material superficialities with those more elusive factors that make up sexual and spiritual harmony in married life? Their aspirations and feelings are more reliable than their knowledge and information.

As one would expect the subject of marriage is discussed with a good deal of animation. This is the one subject on which most of them have some kind of a positive opinion either from their own ideals or from observation of their parents and friends. We consider these obstacles, such as undesirable personality traits, the differences in emotional suitability to one another, lack of common ideals, wide difference of social background, that will most likely prevent the attainment of happiness and satisfaction in marriage. As sound health, both mental and physical, is fundamental they feel very strongly that there should be uniform laws requiring health examinations that will prevent the marriage of the

feeble-minded, the epileptic, and those affected with venereal disease. Many of them are old enough and experienced enough to appreciate the wound that comes with disillusionment.

As the group is usually made up of members both of the Protestant and of the Catholic faith, with an occasional Jewess and a few Negroes, the religious and the racial problems always prove worth while and illuminating. Sometimes one can fairly *feel* their seething opinions as, for instance, the occasion when a Jewess told the class that it is a disgrace for one of her people to marry a Gentile. This provides a wonderful opportunity to smooth out certain prejudices and to review briefly the cultural contribution that the Jews have made to civilization.

They consider the tragedy of intermarriage of different races. If it concerns the Negro race, we encourage the colored girls to express their own point of view freely. So far this has never caused an unpleasant experience. The teacher never loses the opportunity to speak of the need for absolute justice in the law; equal opportunity in education, each race according to its own need and talents; the factors that may lead to better community living, segregation, justice, friendliness, and coöperation in all common problems. Those factors which contribute to success and happiness in marriage and family life are emphasized. Our aim is to build an appreciation of the positive values in human relationships.

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1. A paper on her family history or a comparison of the life of the modern girl with that of her grandmother or great-grandmother (covering the decades of about 1860-1900) dealing with the differences in household duties, amusements, manners and

customs in courtship and marriage; social activities; economic opportunities; political influence and religious attitudes; educational opportunities and the increased social and ethical responsibilities of the modern young woman.

2. A suggestive list of about twenty topics was submitted. The requirement for this paper was from twelve hundred to two thousand words with the use of at least two references. In a few instances "two birds were killed with one stone" as the same paper served as an assignment in English as well as in euthenics.

3. A fairly comprehensive notebook on some phase of personal or family living that was of especial interest to her.

4. Written reports on three approved books, one of which might be fiction dealing with family relationships such as Dorothy Canfield Fisher's *The Homemaker*.

A wide latitude of special assignments gives the pupils an opportunity to find a problem within their range of interest and intellectual level. Then they all do fairly creditable work each according to her own ability. It is interesting to note that one girl who possesses more than the average amount of poise, charm, and dignity wrote a sizable paper on birth control using wide reference material. Her skillful handling of the subject would have been a credit to a more mature person. As I knew that so young a girl would not be permitted to take from the city library some of the references used, I asked her how she had got her source material. "Oh," gaily said she, "from my boy friend." Another excellent paper was written on the present housing situation. A girl in a former class wrote a surprisingly good paper on "Religion in the Home." May not these isolated examples be straws showing which way the minds of youth are turning?

In dealing with the unit of children in the home, the prenatal care and physical needs are only briefly touched since this is a definite part of their work in another course. Only so far as physical habits are tied up with mental development and emotional atti-

tudes do we consider them. The nearest check that we have on the effectiveness of our reading, study, and discussions are the written statements of the individual pupils regarding their changed attitudes towards their younger brothers and sisters or possibly young children who are left in their care. They learn that younger children do have rights to be respected.

We hear and read so much about leisure that one might infer that it is a new menace or blessing (depending upon one's point of view), like the automatic machine. Abundant leisure, like silk stockings, has been in the possession of the ultrarich or aristocratic classes for a long time but it is only recently that both leisure and silk stockings have come into the possession of the masses. So far, with youth, the former seems to be less appreciated and has no more permanent value than the latter.

We cannot wisely pivot our attention on leisure any more than we can on good health. As we consider those factors that contribute to excellent health so should we emphasize the development of talents, activities, studies, and hobbies that challenge interest and provide means for creative self-expression.

One semester we had a most creditable exhibit ranged through intellectual hobbies and skilled handicrafts. The exhibits filled four big glass cases and the wall space of one large laboratory. One case that was of particular interest to the boys of the school contained model airplanes in all stages of construction, including drawings. The completed models were hung by single strands of silk threads. Every article, whether it were antique or modern, was labeled with emphasis on the leisurely factor involved in its construction. Other very interesting features were charts. One represented a small leisure-time farm. The father and three sons worked away from home, but during their leisure hours they "hobnized" and specialized on the farm with fruits, peaches, potatoes, and poultry. Incidentally, they netted about fifteen hundred dollars from the farming avocation. The mother had an attractive

flower garden. While the daughter was proud of her home, her creative outlet was clothes. She did beautiful dressmaking. Another interesting chart showed how the family could make automobiling both pleasurable and profitable with a map which indicated places of scenic and historic interest as well as the approximate length of time required for the trip. In consideration of the wide range of activities available to one's talents, time, and purse, we have found that such an exhibit assembled by the pupils is very worth while. Although the planning, assembling, selecting, arranging, and labeling involved a tremendous amount of time, the outcome in terms of interest and enthusiasm justified the effort. However, such an exhibit once in every two or three years is sufficient. We must teach young people to appreciate and to develop resources within themselves so that they will not always be dependent upon passive or artificial devices of this machine age.

To teach the subtle values of creative living is one of the most important and difficult units in the course. We must face the fact that so many pupils have only mediocre talents, often deeply buried; or they are lukewarm in their interests and have only nebulous ideas about what they wish to do. Many of them, at this age, are passive, probably because subconsciously marriage is always in the background of their inmost desires. To get a bit of dynamic ambition under their passivity while they are still within our reach is a mission of no small undertaking.

Our school is fortunate in being within two minutes' walk of the art center of the city. The library, the fine arts, historical, and natural-history museums may become our laboratories. As the museum is progressive in its educational policy, we gain the finest coöperation. We spend many class periods here studying exhibits to form standards of good taste, and we try to get an appreciation of the feeling, the time, and the spirit that the craftsman put into his work.

The seniors in our high school today are as idealistic as we were. Those ideals are as nebulous as were our own. However, our ideals were more easily crystallized because we lived in a comparatively calm, peaceful, and stable world. At that time high-school pupils were a selective group with definite aims and goals. Most of us stayed in high school and went on to college because we chose to do so. We may have had to struggle and to pay our own way, but the road was open and fair to see.

Today there is a small group in every high school comparable with our youthful selves, eager with a definite goal in view. With this group we have a kindred feeling. We know the type of worthwhile books that they will read and enjoy; we point the way, they see the light, and can make their way with only a little guidance. It is the other fifty per cent or more who are with us in our classrooms because there is no other place for them to be. They may come from homes of insecurity where parents have been blown willy-nilly by economic circumstances. It is these future citizens and homemakers that may well be the burden on our souls. We must be possessed of the spirit of the ardent revivalists that we may through our teaching "set the fires" burning for finer home living in simple circumstances. In a world environment that is constantly shifting there are permanent values of home life to which they must hold fast. The challenge is tremendously significant and fateful.

THE THREE "P'S" OF EDUCATION FOR FAMILY LIFE

M. F. NIMKOFF

What awaits John Doe when he registers for the course on the family? Teachers generally have two distinct answers to this question, depending on the conception they have of John. There is John, the student, and John, the person, and these two Johns differ in their needs.

If John goes to college we assume he is a student, for the college has as its distinctive function and tradition the cultivation of scholarship. If John elects the course on the family, he ought to be given the opportunity to learn about this social institution. For our purposes we can accept Matthew Arnold's famous definition of a student's task as that of becoming familiar with the best that has been said and thought on a given subject. This distillation comprises what we would call "the literature of the subject." It is hardly conceivable that the college is operating in its intended way if John, the student, when he chooses to study "the family," leaves the subject without having been introduced to "the best that has been said and thought on the subject." And this is no small assignment, for the literature of the family is voluminous. The family touches life at many points, hence an understanding of the family can come only through approaching it from many angles: among others, history, ethnology, biology, psychology, economics, and sociology. The traditional course on the family is of this formal, academic sort and its content is sufficiently well established to require no comment here. And the writer would here affirm his belief in the legitimate right of such a course to a place in the college curriculum.

But an occasional John Doe, speaking perhaps for many of his fellows, says after an introduction to "the best that has been said and thought" on the family, "What's all this to me?" In this way

we are introduced to John, the person, with the suggestion that his needs are different from those of John, the student. The chances are better than five to one that John will some day marry and become a parent. So John Doe is thinking of Jane Doe and of the little Does to be. "What are marriage and parenthood like, and what can I do about getting ready for them? These are my concerns."

Apparently more and more teachers are agreeing with John, the person. There has been a noticeable shift in the nature of the college course on the family towards a greater concern with psychosocial matters; that is, towards a fuller appreciation of the personal aspects of family life. And Hornell Hart, upon study, gives it as his view that recent publications in the field of the family have moved ahead in this direction even faster than the college courses.¹ Few will question the sagacity of this growing movement to help John, the person.

In view of this pronounced development in the curriculum, the writer would like to suggest the advisability of maintaining two distinct courses on the family, the one for John, the student, the other for John, the person. In eagerness to serve the latter, college teachers have modified radically their academic course retaining a portion of the old tried and true content and spicing it with some of the new. The writer fears that the attempt to mix the two ordinarily yields a kind of scholastic hash which is not particularly energizing. Lacking in vitamin content, such a course is not up to the standard of the rest of the academic bill of fare; and the proportion of practical ingredients, though sufficient to change the taste of the course, is not abundant enough to provide adequate nourishment for John. The topics included in a course on preparation for family life are numerous; e.g., choice of a mate, courtship, engagement, wedding, honeymoon, housing, person-

¹ Hornell Hart, "Trends of Change in Textbooks on the Family," *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1933, pp. 222-230.

ality adjustments, economic adjustments, physical factors, aesthetic and religious life, childbearing. It would, indeed, seem something of a Herculean task to include within the small compass of a single course all the considerations which are vital to marriage and family life. On this account, the writer thinks a distinct course on marriage advisable and is interested to see evidences of a trend in this direction. Even as he writes, notice comes to hand of a projected course in marriage for senior men at the University of Washington. Similar courses are already in effect at a number of our leading colleges.

In such courses, the central question is: How may we help John, the person, to prepare for family life? We may consider three possible methods.

I. PROVIDING SPECIAL INFORMATION

The commonest practice presumably is to provide John with a special fund of pertinent information concerning marriage and family life. A teacher may decide this content in either or both of two ways: (1) by inquiring of the students themselves what they wish to know, (2) by indicating what he believes they ought to know. Professor Watson of Haverford College used students' questions as the basis for his first course on marriage.³ This method has much to commend it; it not only discloses the needs which the students themselves recognize but it generates interest in the work. It is an excellent pedagogical device. Watson found that his students were eager most of all to know about the responsibilities entailed by parenthood. The writer's students, however, have in response to similar questioning uniformly manifested greater interest in problems of mating and marriage. This suggests the advisability of each teacher's making an inquiry of his own. Such an investigation has still another value; it may help the instructor to decide what his students ought to know. Since the

³ F. D. Watson, "What Some College Men Wanted to Know About Marriage and the Family," *Social Forces*, December 1932, pp. 235-241.

students are not, however, expected to be familiar with everything which they ought to know about marriage, the instructor will supply whatever additional material he thinks necessary. The first thing, then, that we can do for John is to provide him with certain facts of family life.

But how much, precisely, can we do for John in our efforts to provide him with adequate information? Two fundamental assumptions underlie our attempts to inform John. The first assumption is that we now have the necessary knowledge to give him. But do we know what John ought to know? Certainly there are many important things about which we do not yet have precise knowledge. One of the most urgent questions of all is what makes a marriage successful. Do we know? A perusal of the existing literature reveals some uniformity of opinion; most students of the subject hold that the proper choice of a mate is an important consideration. In a rough statistical way we can say that fifty per cent of the success of a marriage depends on the kind of choice one makes and the other fifty per cent depends on the power of adjustment afterwards. Most of the texts, furthermore, stipulate love and congeniality as the two main bases of a proper choice of mate. But what is love? How can one tell when one is in love? How distinguish love from infatuation? (John Doe is almost certain to raise this question!) Falling in love is advised; yet, as one wit observed, one can hardly be expected to fall unless one's eyes are partly closed. This is popularly believed; witness the phrase: "Love is blind." Indeed, psychology teaches that love is an emotional complex, a very powerful one, and further that emotion tends to put reason to rout. How, then, can one be expected to be rational under such circumstances, that is, rational enough to choose a congenial partner? Is it possible to follow the advice of William Penn (and his successors in marriage education): "Marry for love, but be sure that what thou lovest be lovely"? Or does a good choice depend largely on good fortune, as Steven-

son implies in his statement: "Each (marriage) is a great Perhaps, and a leap in the dark"? Clearly there is much about marriage and family life which remains to be known. And, in a field so popular in its appeal as is this one, the danger of pretension to knowledge becomes exceedingly great for the teacher.

To point out a weakness in a system is not to condemn the system itself. The writer has no desire to minimize either the values of informational instruction or the extent of the body of valid information which a conscientious instructor may assemble. For example, there is a reputable fund of information concerning sex which may be transmitted to John with profit. There are principles of money and household management which likewise may be communicated to advantage. Law also has a pertinent factual contribution to make, and experimental psychology offers a considerable store of data about the nature of human personality. No one can gainsay, however, the vast gaps in our present knowledge of the practical side of family life. "Of all the major institutions, the family has received the least intelligent study and is, perhaps, the least understood."³ An instructor who overlooks this fact runs great danger of operating his course on the same level of authenticity as the ladies who run the daily newspaper columns for the lovelorn.

A second and possibly more serious assumption underlying the informational approach is the belief that "knowledge is power." But knowledge alone is not power. Psychologists today are in perfect agreement as to the primacy of emotions in human conduct. Feelings are more powerful than ideas, and organized, established feelings or habits are most commanding of all. Action, not knowledge, is power. As Dewey so well points out, only the man who is good knows truly the meaning of goodness.

Unless Dewey is right, how shall we account for the behavior of some of our college students who are "educated" for marriage

³ E. H. Reuter and C. W. Hart, *Introduction to Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), p. 175.

and family life? Let us look briefly at two Johns and two Janes who registered for this kind of course and were duly indoctrinated. They were brought into touch with the best information the instructor could discover concerning proper courtship and mating. Jane Number One was the brightest member of the class. Late in the course she struck up an acquaintance with a John whose body was pitifully misshaped and convulsed by a serious inherited disability. Now they are inseparable and anticipate marriage. Jane Number Two was another bright student but had an impaired constitution brought about by her effort to work her way through college. About the middle of the fall semester, weary from overwork, she disappeared from the campus, only to return the week following to claim her belongings and to announce that she had eloped with a man much older than herself whom she had met just the previous summer. She lived with him only a short time, then returned to her parents' home. Subsequently, an annulment was secured since she had not reached the legal age of consent at the time of her marriage. John Number One was only an average student, but more than average in his praise for the course. He was certain it was the best work he had ever taken. He had a succession of love affairs while in college, and reported that with each experience he was approaching more closely what would be the ideal relationship for him. He is now thirty, with no prospect of marriage. John Number Two was another average student. His fraternity invited the instructor to discuss with them certain problems of sex before marriage. The instructor, among other things, pointed out the great hazards involved in sex relations before marriage. The possible penalties were emphatically stated. John was present at the discussion and asked questions. The next semester he was expelled from college because of certain serious moral transgressions.

It may be countered that these students were abnormal, pathological. That may have been the case. But, if so, their conduct

constitutes an even greater indictment of the instructional approach to character education than would be the case if they were normal. The value of a course on marriage and family life is to be measured by what it does for those who need it most, not by what it does for those who need it least.

The instructional approach has its values, to be sure. Facts are indispensable to the educational process. But the realization that information per se does not change conduct has led to a second proposal in the effort to prepare John for family life. This second procedure is to confront him in the family course with a teacher who, wholesome and inspiring of personality, offers in his own relationship standards of family life to be desired.

II. INDUCING INSPIRATION

There is a suspicion in certain circles that the trouble with much of education is the educator. Facts do not register themselves; they require the force of a commanding personality to implant them in the minds of students. Thus those who pin their faith on the personality of the teacher rather than on the nature of the subject matter might raise the question as to whether the conduct of the two Johns and the two Janes reported above may not in part be accounted for in terms of their teacher. If their teacher had been "of the right sort," would his words have had more influence? As Emerson suggested, what you are thunders so loud about you that we cannot hear what you say. Therefore, if you would inculcate a zest for wholesome family life in John Doe, confront him with an impelling person who himself represents the things he teaches.

There is at the present time a decided tendency to emphasize the fact that the teacher of the course on education for marriage and family life should have these unusual personal qualifications. This point has been the central theme of a number of current professional articles; the recent Columbia University Conference on Education for Marriage and Family Social Relations assigned

one of its six divisions to the matter of training leaders. In a preliminary report from this division we read: "This group assumed that teachers and leaders by example . . . may contribute to better practices in marriage and family social relations."⁴

Clearly there is foundation for this trust in the power of the good teacher. It was Charles H. Cooley who made this efficacy thoroughly intelligible to us through his account of "the socially reflected self." Our conduct is in no small measure determined by the impression that we wish to make upon others, and this in turn is influenced by the character of those about us.

A self-idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance; and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification. The comparison with a looking-glass hardly suggests the second element, the imagined judgment, which is quite essential. The thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind. This is evident from the fact that the character and weight of that other, in whose mind we see ourselves, makes all the difference with our feeling. We are ashamed to seem evasive in the presence of a straightforward man, cowardly in the presence of a brave one, gross in the eyes of a refined one, and so on.⁵

In a word, a strong personality grips us and lifts us in some measure to his own level. Those who have charge of the development of a program of education for family life will therefore probably not err in demanding specially qualified persons for the work.

For all this, it may not be wise to repose too much confidence in the miracle-working power of the "artist teacher." One possible danger is that the great personality will be too overwhelming. Sumner was probably as inspiring a teacher as Yale has ever had,

⁴ "High Points of the Conference on Education for Marriage and Family Social Relations" (New York: The American Social Hygiene Association), Pub. No. 900, p. 426.

⁵ Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 184.

but he did not leave after him a string of creative students. What if the transmitting power of the great man proves to be that of a rubber stamp? Imitation is not art. However, the chief trouble with focusing attention upon the great teacher is probably that it makes the student a subordinate, whereas in reality he is the more important character on the educational scene. We are now realizing that, if it is John we are to educate for family life, we should deal directly with John as a person. This brings us to the third method of preparing John for marriage.

III. ACHIEVING INTEGRATION

There are three postulates underlying education for family life which are so evident in nature that we frequently overlook their significance. The first of these holds that John's education for marriage begins long before he enrolls for the course on the family. His preparation commences even before he occupies his cradle, let alone his classroom seat. As Oliver Wendell Holmes aptly observed, a child's education should begin with his great-grandfather. The second postulate is that John's preparation for marriage is only a part of his larger adjustment to life as a whole. The third premise reads that the central factor in adjustment is John's personality.

What is the chief implication of the foregoing observations? Is it not that, in any successful effort to help John prepare for marriage, we must deal with John as a person? Do we not need to know how heredity and experience have conspired to fashion John into the sort of person he now happens to be? Before guiding him further towards marriage, must we not first learn what by-ways he has already traveled? And to discover this must we not deal with John individually?

Here we have what may be called the *clinical* approach to the problem. There are at the present time unquestionably a number of college instructors who carry on a counseling service of their own auxiliary to their teaching program. No estimate can be made

as to their number, but it is probably not great. Furthermore, probably only a very few of these teachers do counseling of a scientific and systematic sort. This casts no reflection upon these teachers but is rather a token of the youth of the work and of the inadequate organization of the college for it. Indeed, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene estimates that only seventeen colleges and universities in the United States now support some sort of mental-hygiene or psychiatric staff for purposes of the systematic individual counseling of students.⁹

In an ideal college program, as the writer conceives it, each student would be examined clinically at the onset of his general course. That is to say, he would be dealt with as is the child who comes to the child-guidance clinic or the behavior clinic, and a thorough case study would be made of him. His heredity would be probed and a careful inquiry made into his developmental experience. The social case materials, in turn, would be supplemented by the results of a battery of tests—medical, psychological, vocational, etc. For purposes of the course on the family, special information and attitude tests would be included, so that the instructor might have a more exact understanding of John's position with reference to marriage and family life. On the basis of such careful study, the instructor would be able to arrive at a truer appraisal of John as a marriage prospect, and be in position to chart his assets and liabilities. The forces which govern John, and which chiefly determine whether he will achieve success or failure in his family life, are precisely these items of personality which interest the clinician: wishes, attitudes, habits, interests, behavior patterns, concepts of rôles, etc. Only by taking scientific, systematic inventory of them can we tell if John possesses the degree of emotional stability and maturity requisite to successful adult functioning. Should John be found wanting in these respects, it may be possible to correct his deficiencies and to give him

⁹ In a letter to the writer, dated November 23, 1934.

insight into the basic aspects of his nature. It is difficult to imagine any more valuable resources for wholesome family life with which John could be provided than the means of achieving an integrated personality. Only on the basis of understanding provided in some such way as this would it be possible for the teacher to construct an educational program adequate to John's special needs.

Here then, in the writer's view, are the three essentials—the three “I’s”—of an adequate program of education for family life: (1) *information* which is sound, (2) *inspiration* which is creative, and (3) a scientific insight which shall achieve *integration* of personality.

ADULT EDUCATION FOR FAMILY LIFE

EDGAR SCHMIEDELER

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Welfare Conference*

Within the scope of this article will be included the various efforts that are being made today to promote, in an organized way, preparation of adults for successful family life. The term "adults" is taken to mean grown-ups who are no longer in school. The term "family life" is taken in its widest meaning, including, namely, the ideas of homemaking or household tasks of a material nature, of family relationships or the living together of the family members within the domestic world, and of parent education or the preparation of parents for the training of their children. It is true that today these latter terms—homemaking, family relationships, and parent education—are no longer so clear-cut in meaning. Not infrequently are they used in quite as wide a sense as the more general term "family life." Particularly is this true of "parent education."

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT

Several decades ago one seldom heard mention, outside of a few higher educational institutions, of preparation for family life. Today one hears much of the subject. Organized effort to promote such preparation in a formal way has rapidly taken on proportions and a definite movement fostering it has materialized.

A number of different reasons account for this development. Outstanding among them are the changed social conditions of the day, our new-found leisure, the findings of research specialists, and the establishment of numerous organizations and agencies devoted to the special purpose of promoting preparation for family life in one or more of its varied phases.

First of all, our changed social conditions have played a most fundamental part in the development. It was these changed con-

ditions of society that created the need for such preparation and that consequently furnished the chief urge for it. They have given us a world that is vastly different from the one in which we formerly lived. In that earlier world parenthood and family life generally were less difficult than they are today. Hence, the home was reasonably successful without any formal education or specific instruction or guidance from extradomestic sources by way of preparation. Through normal contacts within the confines of the little home world the children gradually learned the lessons of life that prepared them for the task of founding their own homes and rearing their own families. Step by step they were equipped with the knowledge of homemaking, the training ranging all the way from the mere physical side of housekeeping on up to the religious and moral training of little ones.

But, today, so many no longer live under rural conditions, and few, if any, live under the simple rural conditions of the past. Our civilization generally has become much more complex during the past few decades and one of the unfortunate results of this change is the fact that the more informal education of the home of the past has in great measure broken down. The shared activities of work and play within the domestic world have more and more gone by the way. The whole question of child training has become more difficult. The entire matter of family life has become more complex. In these and other ways has our family life suffered because of the changed social conditions of the times and, as a result, a very real need for preparation for family life has been created.

Again, there is our new-found leisure. This, too, has helped to encourage a definite movement for adult education for family life. There is no question that with the advent of power machinery, with the development of mechanical slaves to do our work, we have much more leisure today than was ever given to any people in the history of man. With the energies of parents freed for

attention to their children, great possibilities now present themselves for inculcating in the minds of the latter an appreciation of the higher values of life and for elevating the home to higher levels.

Research, too, has played a not inconsequential part in promoting a movement for adult preparation for family life. Particularly has it given us a fund of scientific facts with regard to homemaking and child management. The past two or three decades have witnessed unusual progress not only in research but also in teaching in these fields. Child development has suddenly become the focal point for investigation and study by a host of scientists, such as sociologists, psychologists, nutritionists, educators, physicians, biologists, and geneticists. There has been a rapid multiplication of children's clinics and foundations and of child research centers that have given us findings highly beneficial to parents in their tasks of training their children within the home.

Finally, not a little interest has been aroused in adult education for family life through various organizations and agencies devoted in whole or in part to this particular work. A great number of these agencies have sprung up in recent years. Among them are found voluntary secular organizations, governmental agencies, religious groups, and schools or special foundations or institutes. The great majority have developed a literature of their own and have promoted their work through such media as conferences, lectures, and study clubs. Some, too, have encouraged preparation for family life through correspondence courses, radio talks, and other forms of extension work. It will be impossible to review here the work of all of these agencies. At best the aims and activities of a few can be briefly mentioned by way of example.

AMERICAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION

In 1926 the child-development and parent-education office of the American Home Economics Association came into being with a program designed primarily to serve teachers, extension work-

ers, homemakers, and other home economists deserving help and guidance in the fields of child development and family relationships. During the eight years of its existence the work of the child-development office shifted in emphasis from time to time as increased knowledge and circumstances created new needs, but the main purpose of the work remained the same; namely, to recognize the family and its needs as the center of all homemaking education, regardless of the level at which this instruction is given.

PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS

The National Congress of Parents and Teachers is another voluntary organization that has done much to promote adult education for family life, particularly through the promotion of study clubs and schools for parents and through the preparation and dissemination of literature.

Five thousand five hundred parent-education study groups were reported through State parent-education chairmen for the school year 1933-1934.

Materials for meetings and bibliographies are made available by the National Congress. A number of parent-education yearbooks have been issued to date. These yearbooks have been so arranged that local groups can make use of them. They are planned to cover some particular phase of parent education each year. Among other publications of the organization are parent-education guides and parent-education outlines. The schools for parents, fostered by the Congress, are usually conducted in connection with some university or other educational institution. Perhaps deserving of special mention is the work of the Congress in the rural field. It maintains a special bureau of rural life, the purpose of which is to give advice and assistance to rural units and to cooperate with other agencies in various endeavors for rural improvement.

Other voluntary secular organizations that are doing work on a national scale in this field are the Child Study Association of

America and the American Association of University Women. Special mention will be made later of still another group, namely, the National Council of Parent Education.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Among the agencies of the Federal Government that have promoted a program of preparation for family life are: the United States Office of Education, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and the Coöperative Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. The first two agencies are now definitely linked together and the Office of Education reports that its program of vocational education in home economics reached, in 1933-1934, 139,733 adults throughout the country.

The Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture reached many more, though complete figures could not be secured. Quite a few States now have parent-education specialists on their staffs. These work through or in coöperation with the county extension agents, usually the women agents in home economics. Not infrequently the State specialists train the lay leaders of groups of adults who carry on educational projects. Study groups are organized when a sufficient number of adults show an interest in some aspect of parent education. As soon as a sufficient enrollment is assured, the home-demonstration workers of the county make arrangement for the State specialist to meet with the group, to lead the first session or two, to introduce the outlines of courses available, and to arrange for demonstrations in the home. Local arrangements are handled by the county agent and her volunteers.

Various teaching methods are followed by the study groups, but very commonly they are combinations of informal lectures, questions, and discussions; reports on reading; illustrative materials and exhibits, such as toys, books, clothing. Many groups have a librarian whose duty it is to collect clippings, pictures,

books, and demonstration materials for the use of the study groups.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In recent years the various religious bodies have devoted attention in an organized way to preparation for marriage and family life among adults.

Catholic activities on a national scale have been fostered through the many national organizations. Local study clubs in considerable numbers have been formed by Diocesan Councils of Catholic Women, by Diocesan Parent-Teacher Associations, or home and school associations, and other groups.

A very common procedure in the case of these Catholic study groups is for a newly formed group to begin its work with the study of several popular booklets prepared by the Family Life Section of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Next, an extensive study is made of the family group, use being made for the purpose of a study outline based on the two volumes of the D. Appleton-Century Company: *An Introductory Study of the Family* and *Readings on the Family*. Finally, attention is directed to the subject of child training in the home. In this instance the volume, *Parent and Child*, of the same publishers, is used as a guide. The official organ of the Catholic Conference on Family Life, *The Catholic Family Monthly*, is also used to some extent by the study groups.

In the case of the Protestant churches, the work heads up in a national way in the Committee on Marriage and the Home of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. This committee issues materials such as "A Bibliography on Young People's Relationships, Marriage, and Family Life" and "Building the Christian Home: a Program for the Churches." It promotes its program in coöperation with the International Council of Religious Education, with the twenty-five denominations making up the Federal Council of Churches, and also in a limited way with

a number of secular organizations in the field of education for family life and parenthood.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PARENT EDUCATION

The National Council of Parent Education is in very large measure a coördinating agency in the field of preparation for family life. It was established in 1925 as a means of bringing professional leaders engaged in some aspect of parent education into vital touch with one another through opportunities to confer together with respect to the needs of the field. It is particularly concerned with providing advisory service to new projects and in stimulating the training of professional leaders. It studies materials, methods, and results of work carried on. It conducts conferences and holds regular meetings of representatives of member agencies. It publishes important information in the area of interest of its constituents. More than sixty agencies have affiliated themselves with the National Council. Included in them are departments of colleges and universities, national associations with special interests in parent education, government departments, research agencies, nursery schools, and others with more highly specialized purposes.

PARENT EDUCATION IN THE EMERGENCY PROGRAM

In January 1934, the United States Commissioner of Education invited the National Council of Parent Education to coöperate with the Office of Education and the Relief Administration in making plans for the organization and supervision of parent-education activities in State programs of emergency education. The move was prompted by two types of needs; namely, the need for helping parents in dealing with the many serious family problems growing out of the depression and the need for the employing of a large number of teachers, nurses, and social workers who had been thrown out of work.

The program was carried on officially through the parent-education office of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration,

which was established jointly and supervised by the United States Office of Education, the Advisory Committee on Emergency Education Programs of the National Council of Parent Education, and the Relief Administration. This office had the continuous coöperation of various Government bureaus and national agencies: the Bureau of Home Economics and the Cooperative Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, the Children's Bureau, the Public Health Service, the American Association of Adult Education, the Child Study Association of America, the Merrill-Palmer School, and others.

The program in the individual States operated through superintendents of public instruction coöperating with State relief administrators. The State projects were supervised by special assistants appointed temporarily to State departments of public instruction. Twenty-two of these special assistants were appointed. They advised with regard to selection and training of teacher personnel, use of materials, and methods of organization.

The actual teaching in the local communities was carried on by emergency teacher-leaders appointed jointly by local school superintendents and relief administrators. Most of these teachers had had little or no experience in the field of parent education, hence practically every State coöperating in the emergency program made provision for preliminary training and for supervision while in service. Twenty-one preservice institutes, lasting from two days to two weeks each, were organized by special assistants.

In an abstract of a critical study of the emergency parent-education program, Muriel W. Brown points out that the teaching methods most widely used were discussion, lecture, and demonstration. Other methods used were reported in the following order of frequency: "reports on assigned readings or topics, individual conferences, observation in nursery schools, grade schools, clinics, on playgrounds, etc., charts, movies, and 'outside speak-

ers.' A great many nursery-school workers used individual conferences or home visits as teaching opportunities; no adult education leaders reported this type of activity."

The extent to which the original meaning of the term "parent education" is stretched in this particular instance readily appears from the subjects studied by the various groups. "Thirty per cent of all the groups reported," says Miss Brown, "studied the preschool child; 15.7 studied problems of adolescence. Other subjects studied in order of frequency were foods, nutrition, and cooking; textiles, design, and sewing; family life; health, hygiene, nursing, and first aid; home management and home decoration; reading, spelling, and arithmetic for illiterates; science, literature, and history; art and music; physical education and dramatics; English for foreigners and Americanization."

So far as nursery-school workers were concerned, the report shows that they chiefly led groups on the preschool child. One fifth of them, however, led groups studying adolescence, health, nutrition, and family life, in the order named.

Complete reports of this large, coöperative venture in the field of parent education are lacking. Reports from 509 teachers, however, show a total of 1,144 groups or classes and 14,000 meetings. Approximately 15,600 parents were enrolled in the groups reported. The total estimated number of children in the families represented was 28,456—forty per cent of them of preschool age and another forty per cent between six and fourteen.

OTHER AGENCIES

Still other agencies are playing an important part in fostering the modern movement for preparation for family life. Among these are two that in many respects are rather unique; namely, the Merrill-Palmer School, at Detroit, and the Institute of Family Relations, at Los Angeles. The extension departments of many universities and of other schools are also exerting a far-reaching influence.

CONCLUSION

It is quite impossible to show with any measure of accuracy the extent to which the masses of American people have been reached by the many and varied activities mentioned in the foregoing. However, there is not the slightest question that there has been a marked increase of interest on the part of adults in the opportunities offered them for preparation for family life and a striking decrease in the antagonism that formerly so readily manifested itself against the very idea of a need for such preparation.

No less is it impossible carefully to evaluate the work that has been done to date. One can only speak here in most general terms. That there is now an abundance of literature on many phases of adult education for family life, all must admit. But that much of this literature is far from perfect, and that it contains a vast amount of useless repetition, seems equally certain. So far as research is concerned, it is safe to say that, all in all, much genuine work has been done. Yet, regarding certain phases of the subject, scarcely a beginning has been made. Perhaps the most fundamental question is the extent to which the philosophy underlying the whole movement is sound. Much of it is good, but regarding some of it the present writer has very serious misgivings. These and other flaws, however, should not be beyond correction. Meanwhile, there is much reason for optimism in the fact that a movement of such first-rate importance has got so far under way in so short a period of time.

SHOULD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES PREPARE THEIR STUDENTS TO DEAL WITH PARISH FAMILY PROBLEMS?

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In discussing the responsibility of the theological seminary for preparing its students for the ministry to deal with the family problems which arise in their parishes, it should be frankly understood that I approach it not as a professional social worker or family counselor, nor as a psychiatrist. I have neither the approach nor the terminology which go with such a background. I come to it first as a pastor who, by an experience of twenty years, learned what the demands are which a parish places upon a minister; and, second, I approach it as the head of an institution which is preparing men to do that same pastoral task. Such values as the paper may have it derives from the practical experience of a working minister rather than from a technical approach.

A theological seminary, as a school, exists to fit men for a given profession. We therefore assume that those who decide upon the courses and subjects it will offer in preparing its students will choose those subjects and courses because they relate directly to the knowledge a minister must have or the work he must do. There must be imparted to him, therefore, a certain amount of knowledge and familiarity with the method of approach and a process by which he will continually keep his information abreast of contemporary thought. In addition to the content of his thought he must be equipped with certain skills, which enable him to make use of the data and information which he acquires in his leadership relations to his parish and the community.

On the content side of a minister's education the theological seminary must treat in some satisfactory way at least three fields.

First, the study of the original documents. For the Christian faith this deals with the Old and the New Testament, either in

the original language or on the basis of the best translation available. Obviously a minister who did not know his Bible would be poorly trained. This includes not only familiarity with the Book, but how it came to be; the authors of the writings, and their objectives; the authenticity of the writings, when and how compiled, the historical background out of which they come, and their meaning in view of that background.

The second field has to do with interpretation, the ability to know how to interpret those documents in life and human thought, for purposes of guiding people in their living. Here he deals with theology, philosophy, the philosophy of religion, ethics, and the relation of Christian principles to the social processes of our time and of the past.

The third field with which a school must familiarize the future minister is in what is called Christian progress, a history of the experiences of those who, before us, have attempted to live out and apply to life the principles of religion. Here we deal with the church as a going institution, the historical background which has made it possible, what it has done, and its contemporary life.

On the skill side, the seminary training has to do with leadership. A minister, already acquainted with the basic data on which his religion rests, competent to interpret it carefully, aware of both the mistakes and the values that have come out of the past, must be able, as he faces his group in the church—and his church as a group in the community—to lead it to a position of moral, spiritual, and social effectiveness. Here, in this field, the school is attempting to develop in its students a wide variety of abilities. The prospective leader must gain the skill to formulate his message in proper language, to present it in an effective manner, and to conduct a public assemblage in such a way as to achieve those social and individual values derived from worship. He must be trained to make of his church an educational center, for he should conduct a real school. He must learn the natural administrative

and organizational techniques for his church as a group, comprising such themes as church finance, parish organization, fellowship within the congregation, and a nominal program of activities. He must be prepared to integrate his church, as a unit, into the denomination of which it is a part and the interdenominational enterprises with which it is or should be related. He must know how to instruct his people in their social insights and responsibilities, and to inspire them to undertake these enterprises. And last but not least, he must be taught to be an efficient adviser and counselor in his pastoral relationship to his people. It is in this last field that we come more specifically in sight of the topic of this article. We have taken the time to stretch this larger picture because, when we venture to say whether a professional school ought to attempt to do a new piece of work or to enlarge one already being done, we cannot face it intelligently without having some idea of the whole area of which the new work is to be a part. Workers inside our seminaries are continually urged by various groups to insert in the curriculum courses to cover many new, interesting, and valuable subjects. For most of these it is not possible for them to make provision, particularly in the form of an organized and separate course.

The average theological course is three years in length. In most professional schools practically all the work is required. Theological schools offer a certain amount of work on an elective basis. In our own school, which we experimented with a proportion as high as fifty per cent in elective courses, we now have decided to make about two thirds of the material required and one third elective. In the required work, the school attempts to say what it feels that all students must have; in the elective work the student is privileged to say in what areas he wants to specialize or to enrich courses already taken. Every theological school is under tremendous pressure to find time for the courses in the fields that men should have. Any new course, therefore,

which is offered or proposed has to be submitted to certain very vigorous tests: (1) Will it contribute values that are actually very important in the work to which a minister goes? (2) Is this importance to be for a very few, or for every minister? (3) Is it something of permanent value, or does it simply represent a passing fad? (The theological seminary is preparing men to lead not only for one or two years, but for the next forty years.) (4) Even though the material is good and the skill to be acquired valuable, is it the function of the theological seminary to give it, or should it be given by some other institution? (5) If it is the function of the theological seminary to give it, what is expected to be the relation of the ministers to the professional workers who are fully trained in the specific area which is proposed? (The school must face such questions as these: Can it give a minister enough information to make him constructive in his relationship to that work, and yet keep him from presuming upon another professional field? Is it in an area where the minister, because he is a minister and because of the values which he has in religion, can make a contribution which is unique and which cannot be made by others?)

If the course—or the proposed subject—can pass these tests, and this is exactly the kind of testing that such subjects as psychiatry, social case work, family counseling, and other such items have had to undergo, then, finally, (6) How is it to be imparted? Is it to be a required subject for all or an elective subject for the few? Is it to be given within courses that now exist or in special courses which deal with that subject alone? Can it be given primarily by lectures or must it be given in part on a clinical basis? And is the school competent to furnish the leadership which can give it?

Returning now to the main question, should the theological school undertake to prepare future ministers to deal in a socially constructive way with family problems? I would say, unhesitatingly,

ingly, yes. I think that theological schools should not only admit the responsibility but take steps to discharge it, requiring all of their students to take certain courses which will fit them for this work and offering them still others, so that those who want more or less to specialize in it can go farther than the average student is required to go.

The unequivocal nature of my answer grows out of my observations in the practical field as well as in the administrative field.

I entered the pastorate with practically no information that would help me to deal with special family problems, except the ordinary common sense which most of us possess. The seminary did not recognize it as a field for which I was to be trained; no information had been given me which was of any help.

I had not been long in the pastorate, however, before I became conscious that the problems in the lives of the people round about me, young and old, rich and poor, came for the most part out of their family relationships. This is not to be wondered at, since, as some one has recently pointed out, fifty-seven per cent of the population spend most of their time in the home, seventy-eight per cent of the population marry, and of those who marry eighty-five per cent become parents. Most of us, usually, are forced to solve problems related to the family units from which we came, in which we are, or into which we are going.

In the light of what the parish forced upon me twenty-five years ago, I began trying to secure the information which the seminary had not given me, so that I might deal intelligently with the questions. My first response was to preach a series of Sunday evening "fireside sermons," in which I dealt with the application of religious principles to love, courtship, marriage, home life, and the parent-child relationship. This ran through eight Sunday evenings. I was not only interested in the attendance, which averaged about twelve hundred, but amazed at the

seriousness of the questions which came, either personally or by letter.

After the first night, I announced that we would have a forum for questions around the fireplace in the parish house. More than one hundred and fifty people remained the first evening. They were permitted to write out their questions, which were sent to the front without names attached. Immediately I became conscious that I was dealing not with curiosity, but with life-and-death situations in the lives of people. While this at first applied mainly to young people, who were attempting to get information upon matters of courtship and the meaning of love and marriage, I found that when I preached upon the problems of middle life—marital adjustments, the employed wife, the relation of the new home to its in-laws, or dependent aged—the questions which followed showed that I had invaded an area of life where people were just as baffled and were in great need of any help that could be rendered.

I was forced into the second step, namely, consultation hours in the office, and soon was calling to my aid what we then called the social-service committee, which included a doctor, a lawyer, an experienced social worker, and a psychiatrist, for a consultation. To be sure, it was all very experimental. My point is that even twenty-five years ago the needs were obvious.

Another response made took the form of creating parents' classes, in which the twofold relationship, between husband and wife and between parent and child, could be discussed. Later on we organized a commission composed of educators, parents, doctors, and others to make a two-year study of both the church families and the families in our community, to discover the particular problems which people were facing, to inquire as to the contribution which religion had to offer, and to devise ways and means by which the church could more effectively bring the answers to the attention of those who had the need. As a result, I was forced to

make the application of religion to family matters one of the major interests during the last ten years of the pastorate.

In the course of the years, and particularly in preparation for this paper, I have conferred with a great many other ministers who have tried to render like service, being forced to it by the very demands of the people in their parishes. Few, if any, of my school generation were prepared for it by their seminaries. Some men resent this bitterly, and from my point of view they have a right to do so. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, in reply to my question as to whether he secured instruction in his theological school to prepare him specifically for the marriage consultation service which is being carried on in his church, says, "I received not an atom; so far as my religious training was concerned all men were eunuchs and all women were neuters. I was left to discover what sex does to men and women after I had got out into the world, and that is a crime with a capital 'C.' " However, in all fairness to the theological seminaries, we should recognize frankly that at that time there still existed quite generally throughout society an attitude of repression on what could be done or said about sex, and also a taboo on public discussion as to general matters of husband-and-wife relationship.

It was about that time that the recognition of the penalty paid for sex ignorance became common knowledge, and efforts were made to get parents to accept the responsibility for adequate sex instruction for their children. Slowly the old taboos have faded and we all have been enabled to see more clearly how natural and important a part is played, not only by sex, but by all of the elements in life which are related to love, heredity, environment, and allied matters. We came to realize that not only children got a wrong start because of sex ignorance, but that homes were being wrecked and happiness lost in married life because of continued ignorance in that field. Psychology and psychiatry began to uncover great possibilities of service which could be rendered

to personality by a wider knowledge of physiology and its relation to the psychic factors of life, giving us a new body of knowledge upon which some kind of instruction could adequately be based.

As this material, which at first was urged apparently by extremists, became more scientific and dependable, it is fair to say that the theological seminaries began to take cognizance of it. A study of the offerings of their curricula during the past twenty-five years will show an increasing reflection of their appreciation that this knowledge should be imparted to those who are taking up the leadership of churches and are proposing to be the instructors and moral guides of men and women.

We all recognize frankly, also, that the last twenty-five years have brought into society a great many changes which have very greatly affected the family and which have created new and vigorous problems to be faced by those who constitute family groups. The economic changes, including the new financial status of women, the transfer of work from inside to outside the home, the urbanization of our life, the lessening of the ties which formerly made the family a unit, the widespread promulgation of new and rather bizarre ideas of happiness as an end of life and of the privileges of marriage as a means to happiness, the practice and the public discussion of birth control, the exploitation of the sex idea in magazines and novels for purposes of financial profit rather than for educational ends—all these and other things have made it true that family problems are probably more acute, proportionately, for most people today than twenty-five years ago; at least it is true that the older answers to people's questions on these matters seem far less satisfactory than they did then.

This change in the acuteness of these problems in life has, as we have said, been noted in part by those preparing men for the ministry. While it is probably true today that in too many theological seminaries little or nothing is done to prepare their stu-

dents to be constructive counselors upon family problems, any one who studies the contemporary catalogues of a few of our leading seminaries will be amazed at the wide variety of offerings in this field which are presented. In most of these schools, students are required to take courses which give them at least such an entrée into the field as will enable them to start intelligently and then know how to go on with their research and the acquiring of the information which they need.

The courses in social ethics, in pastoral psychology, in theology, in the psychology of religion, and in general ethics—all contain material which is important from this point of view. In one catalogue before me I find listed courses under the following topics: "Religion and Mental Health," "Problems in the Cure of Souls," "The Pastor and Personal Religious Guidance," "The Problems of Personal Religious Guidance," "Social Disorganization and Personal Morale," and "The Sociology of Religion." While obviously these courses are not restricted to dealing with the problems that grow out of family life, it is impossible to treat these subjects without devoting a considerable time to dealing with the problems before us in this paper.

A glance, therefore, across the field of theological education now offered indicates wide offerings in this field on the part of a small number of seminaries which are attempting to keep their curricular offerings closely related to contemporary needs in the practical field. It shows a partial response on the part of others. However, a fair survey of all theological education would no doubt substantiate the feeling that a great deal more could and should be done before the responsibility of the schools in this matter is fairly discharged. Many schools do almost nothing, and a fair number seem to feel little responsibility.

It would seem to be commonplace that every theological school should from time to time review its curriculum, as it deals with leadership skills, in the light of the question whether it is

actually preparing men for the ministry of today and tomorrow, or whether it is merely perpetuating a preparation that was adequate twenty-five to fifty years ago.

If it is in point, after admitting the limited attention now paid to this need, for any one to urge upon the seminaries in general a more adequate provision for such training, such a suggestion could be substantiated by watching the evidences which show that increasing pressure is being put upon ministers to attempt to meet the need whether or not they are prepared.

One of the most common evidences of this attempt of the ministry to respond is in what we might call a "preaching emphasis." A study of the sermons preached shows the steadily growing custom of using series of sermons dealing with marriage, home life, and religion. While this may seem to the socially trained as comparatively impotent, it does indicate a consciousness of need to be met. It is the indirect form of announcement by a minister that he feels the needs and is prepared to offer help up to the limit of his ability in the problems that grow out of family life. It could be far more potent socially if the minister had a better background.

Another like evidence is the widespread formation of parents' classes or married people's classes. This has gone quite widely across the country and shows that the minister is attempting to gain a direct opportunity for group presentations dealing with the parent-child relation, and for the more intimate relationship with the family problems within his parish.

Other proof to the same end has been the popularity of courses on psychiatry and personal counseling in practically all the summer schools which the ministers attend. These courses aid a minister greatly, for, as any one knows who goes into counseling work, from sixty to seventy-five per cent of all cases which come for counsel center around family relationships.

The argument for the seminaries' undertaking this work in a more adequate fashion springs also from the common assumption that if a seminary has regularly admitted responsibility for training a man for a certain field of work, it must adjust its curriculum to fit him for doing that work as he will find it today.

The entrance upon marriage has long been solemnized by the church as a religious ceremony; the birth of children has been followed by their dedication to God, and the church has urged that they be reared in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; the home has been urged to erect its own altar. The very idea of a family primarily motivated by love is essentially a Christian concept. These and other responsibilities of the minister to the home have been historically clear, and provision for preparing the clergy for these functions included in their training.

We hold that the argument for the seminary to prepare its students to meet additional and contemporary needs of family life rests upon the same basis, merely extending the scope of the service rendered and applying it to situations as they exist today. For instance, historically the minister has performed the marriage ceremony and young people have come to him to arrange for it. Today, we feel that this occasion furnishes a remarkable opportunity for service to the couple in what we may call the premarital interview. Many ministers have proved this to be filled with possibilities for dispelling ignorance, for laying the foundation for better understanding of the new relationship, and for spiritual contacts of the first order. In June 1931, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church adopted a canon which makes it obligatory upon its clergy "to give instruction to the contracting parties as to the nature of holy matrimony, its responsibilities, and the grace which God has provided through His Church." How serious one Episcopalian leader feels this responsibility to be can be judged by reading a paper on "The Technique of Pre-marital Instruction," by the Reverend Lester

O. Ward of Minnesota. To do this, however, a minister needs wise preparation, needs to know the literature available, and should himself be prepared to make such an interview a constructive event and not an embarrassing failure.

Another indication, which seminaries should note, bearing on the necessity of equipping ministers to deal with family problems, is found in studying the literature published by the denominations and furnished to their clergymen. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has established, as one section of its Department of Social Service, a Commission on Marriage and the Home, headed by a full-time secretary. Through him there is coming to the churches of all denominations literature which not only evidences its certainty that a great need exists and that ministers should meet it, but shows how far other institutions are going in the training of our church leaders. The same department, through its secretary, furnishes an extensive bibliography to all ministers interested, with definite recommendations listing books to be furnished to young people about to marry, to young parents in dealing with their children, and to pastors who are seeking to counsel those who have family problems. The social-service and educational departments of the various denominations make use of this literature, or initiate literature of their own; but almost all of them bear testimony, by the attention they pay to the matter, how important they consider it to be.

Probably the most important proof of the point we make is in the churches which have already set up consultation clinics. While theoretically these are for consultation on a variety of problems, as a matter of fact about three fourths of all cases presenting themselves do come with difficulties growing out of family relationships. This proportion is cited by the director of the clinic of Riverside Church in New York City, but is not far different from that quoted by others who respond. In the case of the Community Church in New York there is, in addition to the mental-hygiene

clinic conducted by a trained psychiatrist on the staff, a marriage consultation service conducted by Dr. Hannah M. Stone and Dr. Abraham Stone. In the Lutheran Church of the Ascension, in Brooklyn, the pastor states that while they inaugurated their clinic at the beginning in anticipation primarily of the demand from individuals, the more they worked at it the more they were impressed with the frequency of the problems growing out of the family matters.

In the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for March 1932, an issue dedicated to the modern American family, the statement is made by Ralph D. Bridgeman, in dealing with "Guidance for Marriage and Family Life," that there were, at the time he wrote, fifteen such church clinics registered, ranging all the way from the minister alone, or his assistant trained in education and psychology, plus two or three consultants available upon request, to a staff consisting of a full-time psychiatric social worker or psychiatrist and a secretary, plus anywhere from two to twenty-six consultants, as in the case of the Life Adjustment Center in the Mount Pleasant Congregational Church of Washington, D. C. These clinics vary in the service offered from one afternoon or evening a week, during which seventy-five individuals were interviewed each year, to clinics with regular daily office hours, during which eleven hundred or more cases are handled each year.

A survey, therefore, of the work which the minister is being forced to face would seem to lead us to agree with the conclusion of our most central bureau in Protestantism, the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council, that ministers should be trained to give preparation for marriage and family life to young couples at whose marriages they officiate; and the still more general conclusion that must come to us by studying what the churches at large are trying to do—that the theological seminary should also prepare its students to give wise

counsel on all of the problems that grow out of the wedded relationship.

We wish, however, to point out that it is the nature of religion itself which constitutes the main reason why the schools which train ministers should train them for this service. Religion presents principles which, if followed, help to produce satisfactory human relationships, and family problems are mainly problems of adjustment between personalities. Religion attempts also to create an attitude or spirit in which adjustment between personalities is possible. The more we study the problems of family life the more we realize that while these questions may have their roots in a physical, or financial, or legal condition, the proper solution depends much upon the spirit or attitude which the two people take towards them. It has been my observation that when people want to find a solution, there is usually a solution near by to be found; when they do not want to, any plan will be wrecked. It is in creating the proper attitude that religion is supposed to make its contribution. What we apparently need for a satisfactory result, therefore, is a double approach: first, social knowledge on the part of a trained worker; and, second, proper idealism and motivation, which should be contributed by the representative of religion. These two contributions, however, should be made coöperatively, and not as coming from two competing agencies. It is ideal, therefore, when both contributions can come from one person, a representative of religion who also has social skill.

Again, it is the writer's observation that most of the elements of wedlock which are material or physical get their meaning and become beautiful when they are framed in a framework of ideals, such as loyalty, mutual respect, realization of the sacredness of the relationship, and consciousness of the mutual responsibilities assumed. When these ideals are absent and the legal and physical parts of wedlock stand by themselves, they soon

become harsh, iron bands, and crude, disgusting, lustful relationships. It is for the representative of religion, therefore, to contribute the framework which gives everything else its perspective. If the minister is to do it, however, the seminary which trains him must consciously attempt to enable him to do it in harmony with the existing social knowledge and in special preparation for the special function he is to perform.

We have a vast amount of literature today on the sex side of marriage, also on its social and its psychological side. Comparatively little, however, has been presented which helps the representative of religion to make his contribution pointed, efficient, and coöperatively useful in conjunction with other information that is given. I believe that there is a great literature yet to be developed.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that the minister does have a place in this field in his own right; that his professional task involves it; that he does not come to duplicate the contributions that others are to make, but to make his own in the name of religion. All his work, however, should be based on tested social principles, and should be done in conjunction and not in competition with other agencies.

Where a minister enters the cure field he should be trained to recognize frankly the point where a case should cease to be handled by an amateur in the psychiatric field, such as he is, and where it is to be passed over to a professional. (A leading psychiatrist has recently stated that there are annually 75,000 new admissions to mental hospitals in the United States; but for every one of these it is a pretty safe estimate that there are ten who approach the borderline of some kind of breakdown. Probably some such proportion would exist among people who have family difficulties. It is not in the smaller group of those who should be attended by professionals, but in the larger area, that the minister should do most of his work.)

In view of this, the theological seminary should assume the responsibility of making all its students aware of the need, and of giving them at least such a fair introduction to the field as will enable them to have a proper social foundation and to know how to keep abreast of newly discovered information. They should be so prepared that they will make use of the knowledge gained and the principles involved, through preaching, personal relationships, pastoral calling, and personal counseling. They should know how to set up the religious educational program of the church, through parents' classes, through young people's forums or discussion groups, and through counseling with bridal couples before marriage, so that many normal problems of family life will be prevented rather than wait to be cured.

In giving this training to its students the school should include at least one or two basic courses on it in its required work so that every student will get it. Additional material can be given through regular courses not on this subject but which approach it. Some of it can be imparted by special lectures, some by special courses, some by actual clinical experience, either in local churches or social agencies, or, if possible, in actual clinics which are instituted in cities where theological seminaries exist. Men who want to specialize in this field should be encouraged to take postgraduate work in the seminaries which are equipped to offer more advanced courses than the ordinary professional school should be expected to provide.

The response on the part of every theological seminary should be as great as is consonant with a proper understanding of the importance of this field and of the resources which the seminary has at its disposal to meet the need.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

RESEARCH OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION¹

The first third of the twentieth century has been marked by changes in social and economic conditions which have created problems of great variety and complexity. In order to help teachers to familiarize themselves with the basic facts concerning social change, and the various proposals that have been made to improve both social conditions and the educational program, the Research Division of the National Education Association has issued a 48-page bulletin which reviews modern social and educational trends (*Research Bulletin*, XII, 5, November 1934). In each of seventeen areas of social life—population, health and vitality, home and family life, position of women, economic organization, labor conditions, occupations, wealth and income, invention and discovery, communication, transportation, government, crime and punishment, public finance, natural wealth, leisure-time activities, religion—a summary of trends and conditions is accompanied by pictorial charts, and followed by a discussion of educational implications. The bulletin concludes with a generalized statement of needed educational adjustments to a changing civilization.

The social and industrial changes which have taken place in recent years have complicated the problems of human conduct. Accordingly, increased responsibility for moral education has been placed upon the school. Two bulletins of the Research Division deal with education for character (*Research Bulletin*, XII, 2 and 3, March and May 1934). Part I discusses the social and psychological background for a program of character education. Part II outlines a program for building character through curriculum, individual guidance, and school administration.

In recent years many national agencies have made searching analyses of various phases of education. The September *Research Bulletin* lists national deliberative committees which have reported or which are now at work

¹ This statement has been furnished through the courtesy of William G. Carr, Director, Research Division, National Education Association.

on important educational topics (Vol. 12, No. 4, September 1934).

A compilation of pertinent data on federal aid to public schools has been issued as a 16-page pamphlet under the title *Emergency Federal Aid for Education: A Review of the Evidence*.

The Research Division has continued to cooperate in an editorial and consultative capacity with regard to the publication of certain departments of the National Education Association. Current issues of the *Review of Educational Research* published by the American Educational Research Association comprise these titles: (1) "The Curriculum," IV, 2, April 1934; (2) "Teacher Personnel," IV, 3, June 1934; (3) "School Organization," IV, 4, October 1934.

The thirteenth yearbook of the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association deals with the provision and use of aids to teaching ("Aids to Teaching in the Elementary School," *The Elementary Principal*, XIII, 5, June 1934). Topics discussed include pictorial and graphic aids, object materials, field trips, slides, motion pictures, radio and sound equipment.

The Educational Research Service, maintained by the Research Division and the Department of Superintendence, has issued these circulars since April 1, 1934:

1. "Education Discussed in Lay Magazines." Circulars No. 3, 6, and 9, 1934. These three summaries of articles in noneducational magazines cover the period from December 1, 1933, to October 1934.
2. "New Developments in Pupil Report Cards." Circular No. 4, May 1934. Part I discusses principles and practices based on a study of sample report cards and the findings of other writers. Part II consists of photographic reproductions of sample forms.
3. "State School Legislation, 1933." Circular No. 5, May 1934. This circular is a digest of legislation arranged according to nine topics.
4. "Teacher Sick Leave; Holidays; Salary Deductions for Absence." Circular No. 7, September 1934. Replies to a questionnaire from thirty-nine cities over two hundred thousand in population show prevailing practices regarding sick leave and salary deductions for absence.
5. "School and City Current Expenses Compared, 1932; 94 Cities Above 100,000 in Population." Circular No. 8, September 1934.
6. "Questionnaire Studies Completed—Bibliography No. 5, 1933-34." Circular No. 10, October 1934. The list of forty-two studies presented in this circular is based on questionnaires submitted to city and State superintendents of schools.

7. "Salary Schedules for Teachers, 1934-35; Sixty Cities Over 100,000 in Population," Circular No. 11, November 1934.

STUDY OF THE PRODUCTS OF PRISON LABOR

A subject of genuine interest to educational sociologists is the reëducation of persons sentenced to various correctional and penal institutions. Upon such effective reëducation depends in large part the satisfactory solution of the problem of crime. Whether the prisoner who is discharged from a penal institution reëmbarks upon a criminal career depends in part on the nature of his activity during his incarceration, whether or not he has acquired skills and attitudes which will fit him to reënter normal life on the outside. Of vital importance to the program of education within the prison is the question as to whether the prisoner can be employed upon full-time useful and productive labor during the period of his sentence.

An acute controversy has extended over a period of several years with regard to competition of prison-made products with those of normal industry on the outside. On October 12, 1934, the President of the United States issued an order directing a committee to "investigate the effects of competition between the products of prison labor and the sheltered workshop, on the one hand, and of the cotton garment industry on the other; to study the operation of the prison labor contracts especially as to the enforcement of the standards of competition with private industry established therein and report to the National Industry Recovery Board concerning such matters, not later than December 1, 1934."

This study was carried on and completed by a committee of three headed by Judge Joseph N. Ulman of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore. The members were Frank Tannenbaum and W. Jett Lauck.

This committee took into account the whole question of prison labor as it is related to: (a) the underlying purposes of imprisonment for crime; (b) the economical and effective administration of prisons; (c) the extent and effects of competition between prison labor and free labor in specific industries; (d) the developed policies of State and national governments in relation to the whole subject; (e) attitudes of industry; (f) attitudes of labor; (g) the relationship of a proper regulation of prison labor to a rational attack upon the problem of crime.

In order to get an answer to questions involved in the study the committee held extended hearings at which there testified representatives of the industry, of labor, of prison administration, of legal and other divisions of the NRA, and one witness who spoke not for any party to the manifold controversy but from the point of view of scientific criminology. This method is interesting in that it is a type of study common to legislative inves-

tigation, but somewhat different from the standard research procedure. It takes on the nature of a trial in which an issue is presented from widely varying and contradictory approaches by protagonists of these different points of view. In this case there was one expert witness who spoke in an impartial and unbiased way on the basis of his experience and research into the problems under investigation. This investigation was interesting as presenting to the students of the subject the points of view and states of mind of the persons involved in the controversy, entirely aside from the objective values of their evidence.

As a result of its deliberations the committee made several recommendations involving the replanning of the organization of prison industry, the removal of prison-made goods from the open market, and the finally bringing to an end of the prison labor controversy. Before this latter result can be accomplished it is recognized that intermediate adjustments ought to be made to ensure the control of competition of prison-made goods and also to ensure the continuance of the opportunity of prisoners to enjoy product labor during incarceration.

A STUDY OF THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN REGION²

Professor Louis Wirth is engaged in a regional study which is part of a more general study called "Social, Economic, and Political Trends in the Chicago Region." His task is a double one: to bring all the available material on the Chicago region together and to interpret it according to the more significant social trends, and to make such field studies as will be necessary to fill out a more complete picture of the Chicago region.

The general aim of the study is to define the Chicago metropolitan region. Dr. Wirth's consideration of social trends will include an analysis of population growth, composition, and movement. This part of the project is nearly completed. Surveys of religious organizations, of crime, and of recreational institutions are also being carried on. The character of social organizations within the region, such as ethnic groups, income groups, religious groups, and similar organizations, as well as the formal and informal organizations that go with them, will be included in the study. The configuration of the area will be compared with other metropolitan areas, and relationships between the various parts of it will be examined. The study aims to determine the extent to which the region is a unit for collective action and to throw light on problems which may call for social reorganization or regional planning.

² *Bulletin of the Society for Social Research*, December 1934, p. 4.

BOOK REVIEWS

Russia, Youth and the Present Day World: Further Studies in Mental Hygiene, by DR. FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934, 270 pages.

Dr. Williams is one of the outstanding personalities in the entire field of mental hygiene in this country. Until recently medical director of the National Committee of Mental Hygiene, it was under his leadership that the various phases of mental hygiene such as the child-guidance clinics and the visiting-teacher service have been developed. Some time ago Dr. Williams went to Russia to study the work in the field of mental hygiene and what he discovered there revolutionized his entire approach to the problem. "The difference between mental hygiene in Russia and America" he quotes Dr. Rosenstein, director of the State Institute of Mental Hygiene, as saying, "is that in America you have propaganda *about* mental hygiene, and excellent work with individuals in your child-guidance clinics, in the schools and colleges, while in Russia we have *mental-hygiene* propaganda and our work is with the mass rather than with the individual." The effect of this mass work in mental hygiene through the diminution of economic insecurity, through the equalization of sex morality, through the frank unmoralistic approach to the problems of stealing, delinquency, prostitution, and drunkenness, is evidenced by the tremendous reduction of suicides and neuroses. Russia is probably the only country in the world today with empty beds in its hospitals.

Industrialized Russia, by ALCAN HIRSCH. New York: The Chemical Catalog Company, 1934, 309 pages.

As chief consulting engineer to the Soviet chemical industries, Dr. Alcan Hirsch had an unusual opportunity of learning a good deal not only about the field of his direct interest but in other related fields, so that we find covered in this book most of the important social experimentations which has taken place in the field of industry, education, agriculture, and family relationships. In a very brief and concise manner Dr. Hirsch presents the processes through which each of these experiments have gone, and in spite of the necessarily brief treatment of each subject, the book is rich with material and statistics and tables, in addition to valuations that will not usually be found in other books on Russia. Maurice Hindus's comment in the preface that *Industrialized Russia* in his opinion "is the

most complete and illuminating discussion of the subject" is quite justified.

At War with Academic Traditions in America, by A. LAWRENCE LOWELL. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1934, 357 pages.

Contains selections from the addresses, papers, and annual reports of President Lowell during his long term of office at Harvard. The chief topics deal with those features of reform towards which he bent his efforts, viz: the system of the general examination and tutors; residential colleges (or houses) for undergraduates; changes in the elective system; honor and pass degrees; a society of fellows; relations of faculties and governing boards; universities, graduate schools, and colleges; and other important topics treated from the administrative point of view. A most valuable and interesting book.

A Social Basis of Education, by HAROLD S. TUTTLE. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1935, 589 pages.

This book will serve as a text in college courses in an introduction to education and educational sociology. Its four parts deal with the goal of education, psychological processes, society as an educative agency, and the school as a social agency. A group of projects related to the text is appended. One of the Crowell Social Science Series under the editorship of Seba Eldridge.

The Character Emphasis in Education, A Collection of Materials and Methods, by KENNETH L. HEATON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933, ix + 415 pages.

A worth-while collection of practical suggestions which capitalize on the normal life experiences, both within and without the regular curriculum, for purposes of character building. While illustrative material is taken both from literature and actual experiences in schools throughout the country, the bulk is drawn from the rich program of the public schools of Pontiac, Michigan. The volume is full of concrete suggestions which will stimulate teachers to develop their own ingenious plans for character building.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Activities in the Public School*, by MARGARET GUSTIN and MARGARET L. HAYES. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- American Way*, by J. W. STUDEBAKER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Alaska Natives*, by H. DEWEY ANDERSON and WALTER CROSBY EELS. Stanford University: Stanford University Press.
- Behavior of the Pre-School Child*, by LOIS M. JACK, *et al.* Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. IX, No. 3. Iowa City: University of Iowa.
- Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1918*, by JAMES BUNYAN and H. H. FISHER. Stanford University: Stanford University Press.
- Community Hygiene*, by DEAN FRANKLIN SMILEY and ADRIAN GORDON GOULD. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Dangerous Age in Men*, by CHESTER TILTON STONE. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Education of Teachers*. Yearbook No. XXIII of the National Society of College Teachers of Education, 1935. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Educational Administration as Social Policy*, by JESSE H. NEWLON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Financial Trends in Organized Social Work in New York City*, by KATE HUNTLEY. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Guiding Your Child Through the Formative Years*, by WINIFRED DEKOK. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.
- History of National Socialism*, by KONRAD HEIDEN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Infant Behavior, Its Genesis and Growth*, by ARNOLD GESELL and HELEN THOMPSON. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Mental Health: Its Principles and Practices*, by FRANK E. HOWARD and FREDERICK L. PATRY. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Ohio Poor Law and Its Administration*, by AILEEN E. KENNEDY and S. P. BRECKINRIDGE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Outlines of General Psychopathology*, by WILLIAM MALAMUD. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.
- Principles of Sociology*, by FREDERICK E. LUMLEY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Psychoanalysis for Teachers and Parents*, by ANNA FREUD. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.

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EDITORIAL

The social institutions of business and of the school have been most fundamentally a part, both as causes and as effects, of the tremendous social upheavals which have been taking place with distressful emphasis during the past few years. There is no phase of education which is more consequential to good citizenship in a democracy than that of adequate business or economic intelligence on the part of every youth and adult as they buy and use the goods and services made available by business enterprise.

It is likewise a vital social concern that the *vocationalists* within the business system should be carefully selected and well educated for their careers, both prior to and in connection with their employments. This vocational preparation should always be wisely articulated with, and made a functional part of, the entire educational process and pattern. The living values of the relevant arts and sciences of general education are thus constantly revitalized in the forge of a dynamic business system.

The National Council of Business Education appreciates this opportunity to present an authoritative discussion of challenging issues in business education, which should be the mutual concern especially of educational sociologists, general administrators of education, business leaders, economists, and those immediately responsible for the administration and teaching of programs of business education in secondary schools and universities.

PAUL S. LOMAX

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BUSINESS, EDUCATION, AND THE ADULT

LEE GALLOWAY

Alexander Hamilton Institute

In answer to the question, "But who in the Republic will engage in the exchange?" Plato answered, "There are and always will be in every community the halt, the lame, and those others who cannot learn or serve in useful occupations. They will be the traders." Contrast this conception of business and learning with the statistics of college enrollment for the year 1934 in the United States. The increase in commerce freshmen was 30 per cent; while the increase in liberal arts was 9.8 per cent, and in engineering, 20.5 per cent.

The besetting difficulty in stabilizing any human activity is the constant necessity for prediction. Planning of any sort must be carried out by decisions dominated by a relatively flexible policy permitting "tack and turn and maneuver" in the teeth of the wind and amidst the shoals and hidden rocks of unforeseen circumstances. In business, "circumstances" mean money evaluations as applied to such things as calculating the market for commodities and services, deciding what goods are likely to prove salable, appraising obsolescence caused by shifting demands, judging the extent of overcapacity in industry, or choosing investments in expansible lines of business activity.

In our attempts to analyze the outcome of human conduct, there has been developed a universal synonym for "prediction" which suggests the common intellectual origins of all our institutional philosophy, including education and business. That term is speculation. In education, speculation still holds to its original meaning and remains the heart of scholarship. In business, it is the life of trade, although speculation here has been transferred from the mental process itself to the object speculated about.

The divergence of attitudes in these two fields towards the

fundamental basis of judgment or intellectual selection has had very important sociological effects, since education has built up an institution in which the doctrinaire elements predominate and business has developed an institution dominated by experimental controls. Each has been active in inculcating society with its particular prejudice. But both of these institutional attitudes are in the hands of a master potter whose creative idea of progress is molding them into a pattern where these differences blend into a larger integrity.

Wilbur Wright once said that fifty-nine seconds of every minute of flying were given to keeping his balance. The only gyroscope known to be effective in business is man's judgment, and there has never been a time as today when "to compare and measure" has put such stress upon the human mind.

People are just beginning to realize faintly that the "necessities of life" are within the reach of all and can be obtained by reasonable effort. Perhaps fear can never be eliminated entirely from living, but it can be made to change the level on which it attacks the mind. The lower levels of fear of starvation and exposure may at least be largely eliminated as the chief controls in forming our social attitudes. Such a change, however, is a momentous one and our generation happens to be the one that must begin the solution of the problems connected with a shift from an economy of scarcity to one of plenty.

Perhaps this new adjustment-awareness is shown most clearly in the present universal concern pervading law, politics, business, medicine, religion, art, and professions generally. Each fears its institutional structure will be permanently crippled unless more time and energy are given to group management and the direction of professional attitudes. This, to be sure, generally means direction of the other fellow's group.

The outbreak of interest in the "other fellow" first showed itself in much concern for such adult groups as the non-English-

speaking foreigner, the working man, and a hypothetical new leisure class. The means adopted to help them were generally spoken of as adult education. Adult education broke out here and there and everywhere, like democracy in Colonial America, and is still about as well organized as was the Spirit of '76. But how it has spread! Just as political democracy called the public school into being, a new economic liberty now calls for an extension of an education in democratic principles and practice that will cover the whole of man's life, the highbrow as well as the lowbrow.

There is no place where coming events cast their shadows before so regularly as in the field of social change. In the past, education in the United States has followed the social trends towards political, religious, and intellectual independence and security, always keeping in view the American democratic ideal which shaped the framework of our national structure. Today a new extension of the area in the realm of social security has been developed. Society is demanding that economics and business be organized and professionalized in accordance with the democratic principle as we know it in America; and that education be conscripted to run order through the new social chaos, direction and discipline through our new liberties, and unity through the multiplicity of our new and strange economic relationships.

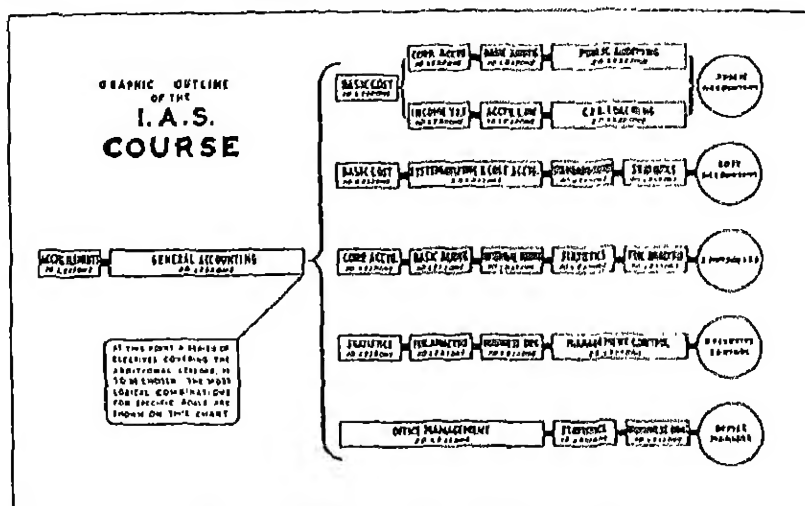
A democracy without education is unthinkable, but as the social area expands, to which the democratic patterns of control are to be applied, the responsibilities put upon that part of education which must provide discipline for these new liberties are enormous and even appalling. Only by some system or systems of education by which every responsible man and woman is continually informed of conditions, guided by sound principles, and impregnated with the necessity for constant reflection upon and alertness in attacking social matters can America expect to carry on under the enormous "overhead charge" of social watchmanship exacted by democratic forms of organization.

It is under this renewed impulse for developing new areas of social sharing that adult forms of education are being projected. Every year sees many new "hits." It is also not surprising that many "misses" are recorded. Some courses overshoot the mark with their surcharge of culture and liberal content; some fall short, due to the small gauge of their vocational bore; while still others score only in the outer circles because of the lack of vision, *comprehension, and training of their academic projectors.*

And, to add to the confusion, along comes the radio and the moving and talking picture (with the near prospect of television) before educators have even agreed upon the real nature of the new educational problem. Not only are there new techniques of holding audiences by dramatization, by vocabulary and sentence structure, and the like, but there is a call for a fundamental change "in the architecture of thinking" itself. But, as educational media, aside from their newness, there are difficulties inherent in the very nature of these forms of communication. They are strong as information carriers, but weak in offering opportunities for the exercise of the reflective process.

A few criteria which any correspondence course appealing to adults in business must meet are the adaptation of material and methods to (1) the business technique and policies covered; (2) to the experience and intellectual ranges involved; (3) to mental disciplinary background; and (4) to special group prejudices, determined by certain vocational, professional, and educational points of view.

To indicate the scope and magnitude of the task involved in adjusting one feature of correspondence-school method to meet the new demands for training in business, let us refer to but a small part of the adult educational field; *i.e.*, the translation of business occupational materials connected with accounting into texts and supplementary material for use by men on the job whose responsibilities range from "juniors" to "top executives."



Note, if you care to make the analysis, the adjustments to satisfy the pressure for facts and figures, statistics and results of operation, costs and budgets to carry on under a profit-making system that is expanding to meet the larger conception of social responsibility of business enterprise. (See above chart.)

One cannot leave this summary, however, without remarking upon its scope of intellectual appeal. Note that the first unit deals with the problem of personal orientation, and the last unit serves as an introduction to the larger orientation of business accounting (as a system) into the larger social organization.

It may not be amiss, however, to call attention to the most recent development that has been made by education by correspondence (in one significant instance at least) in order to adapt its contents to the new conditions made by the rapid changes since 1929. This consists of text revision in the form of supplements issued every six months at least. This is one example of how this form of instruction remains flexible, adjustable, and up-to-date.

And, finally, a word on the importance of instruction by correspondence as a means of promoting social adjustment. Education

may be defined as a process for developing the intellectual controls of living. To do this, education makes use of organization, supervision, experimentation, and testing of conclusions and inspection. Not every educational method can operate all of these elements equally well. Resident schooling fits youthful students better than correspondence instruction, for the school environment is well suited generally to train in "abstract thinking." On the other hand, correspondence-school instruction, backed by proper "service," gives the adult student a much better opportunity to work out his own salvation educationally. His decisions are checked by the occasions of experience and, through the force of circumstances, he is punished or rewarded by real things that tell on his daily life. Abstractions are checked by realities.

After all, there is only one kind of learning and that is self-learning; and the main problem of education by correspondence, as of all other educational methods, is to promote the individual's opportunities for making those contacts which promote the learning process most efficiently. "The man on the job" has opportunities and incentives for self-improvement far greater than the resident student, but he must be guided for its highest realization. The specific problem, then, is to furnish the man at work with a course of instruction, graded and keyed to his position, that he may make the most of his environment where he finds his incentives, his major disciplines, and his rewards. Thus, the correspondence school is doing its share to fuse education and business into a social pattern of new design where long-range conservatism and short-run initiative may work together more congenially in the future than in the past in promoting the general movement towards greater social coöperative efficiency.

Perhaps, in a modest way, adult education by correspondence is showing the way to the larger social point of view by training business men to see how the specific problem in his daily work is helped, if its controlling fundamental is understood.

THE COLLEGIATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS IN OUR AMERICAN ECONOMY

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The task of breaking down the economic history of the United States into periods is a difficult one. Our whole history has been so continuous and so comparatively recent that any attempt to discover contrasts on which to base a statement of distinctive stages is a perilous task. Even qualified historians stumble in their search for the earmarks of new eras; so that when a mere economist essays suggestions on this score he may well be accused of following a course quite the opposite of that of the traditional fear-treading angel. However, in these troublous times when it is so easy to mistake ignorance and temerity for wisdom and courage, I rush in with the proposal that we divide the economic history of the United States into three broad epochs, as follows: (1) the colonial period—an era of major economic dependency, lasting until after the Napoleonic wars; (2) the period of territorial expansion—an era marked by growing differentiation of economic activity, with increasing economic interdependence of the various parts of our continental area, a period ending with the disappearance of our western frontier; (3) the period of consolidation and integration of economic activities—an era marked by rapid technological developments involving both machine processes and human factors, with increasing specialization, a period beginning in its current aspects some four or five decades ago and continuing to the present.

For our purposes the first period has little interest. Such theoretical and practical training as was obtained by the business leaders of this era came through the method of apprenticeship. Such formal collegiate schooling as was provided during their day pointed towards the learned professions rather than towards business.

The same situation holds true in large measure of our second period. The nineteenth century was the era of the opening up of virgin areas, of the exploiting of forest, field, and subsoil resources. The northeastern section of the country expanded industrially, mostly through small-scale establishments, and trading and financing activities grew in step with goods-producing ventures. Corporate forms of organization in different directions gradually displaced the earlier individual proprietorship and partnership forms, and entrepreneurial operations were carried on in a pioneering spirit, with high productivity, much waste, and little social interference or guidance. The later decades of this period were the days of the functioning and glorification of the "captain of industry." Forty years ago it was possible to give utterance to statements such as the following, with expectation of enthusiastic acceptance:

Five hundred years ago it was thought that a man could make money only by buying goods for less than they were worth, or by selling them for more than they were worth; that each business transaction involved the temptation to cheat; and that if a man was successful in business it showed that temptation had been too much for him. Today we believe that money is made on a large scale by doing the public a service. If a man's goods command a high price we assume that he has met an actual need. If this price furnishes him a large margin of profit, we believe that he has so organized the labor under his control as to diminish not only his own expenses but the actual labor cost of producing the goods. So confident are we of the substantial identity of interest between the business man and the community as a whole, that we give our capitalists the freest chance to direct the productive forces of society to their own individual profit. Even the mistakes of private enterprise may prove a means of progress to society, since they show at comparatively small cost what is to be avoided in the future.¹

President Hadley wrote this passage with little consciousness of developments to come during the succeeding forty years. Since 1900 there have been no sizeable additions to exploitable natural

¹ From Arthur Twining Hadley's *Economics* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896).

resources; yet production has been accelerated. The striking earmark of this third period is the shift from major emphasis on the extensive exploitation of nature's gifts to the development and intensive application of human powers and intelligence to physical production, as well as to the elaboration of distributive processes. A few statistical comments will give illustrative impression of this change. Population increased sixty per cent in the three decades to 1930; power used in production increased fourfold; coal production, in spite of competitive substitutes, doubled; petroleum output increased sixteenfold; and steel production fourfold. Increased mechanization of industry, enlarged use of power, and better management expanded output per worker fully eighty per cent, and a multitude of new products came into being. These new products were the result of technological pioneering which in turn was stimulated by distinctively American conditions. A wide domestic market with high consuming power supplied the field for this growth, in which progressive betterment of processes and devices was the dominant feature. There resulted a broadening stream of additions to the decencies, comforts, and educative facilities accessible to the masses. Large-scale efforts with high overhead costs at many points were substituted for small-group and individual efforts both in production and in marketing; complicated financing and control devices came into being; and widely scattered areas were brought together by improvements in methods of transportation, communication, and marketing.

Throughout these developments, up to the crash of 1929, there was increasing stress on human factors. In order to serve a huge market by correlating abundant resources, high-paid labor, and rapidly improving machine equipment, management became an object of study and its forms and processes subjects of conscious adaptation and refinement. Ancillary groupings of technical specialists fill out the picture. Industrial relations were bettered

before 1929, and this improvement contributed to more effective workmanship with lower production costs. Managerial alertness and open-mindedness showed significant outcroppings in exchange of experience, support of research, and increasing respect for university training; and all of these developments afforded evidences of an outlook tending to make competition coöperative and allocative rather than purely eliminative.

YEARS OF CHANGE AND MISTAKES

The World War added disrupting influences to shifting economic and business forces. The 1920's were years of most rapid change both in scale of performance and in ways of obtaining results. Small wonder that grievous mistakes were made, whether from ignorance, rapacity, or ill-founded judgment! Evidence of mistakes is at least reasonably clear. Beginning with the aftermath of the war in debts and reparations, through our financiers and statesmen we coöperated liberally in the rehabilitation of a war-scarred world. We indirectly assumed the burden of payment of German reparations; we forced on European and Latin-American countries a flow of funds, in volume at least, beyond expectation on their part and surely beyond capacity to sustain or repay. Their resultant buying did its share to overstimulate investment in capital equipment and related service activities. We encouraged installment buying and selling, again stimulating a flood of capital-goods expansion. We financed real-estate mortgage loans far in excess of any reasonable estimate of prospective values, and erected embarrassing monuments to our folly in the form of skyscraper business temples in supposedly strategic centers. We pyramided security holdings through corporate devices which baffled understanding and hastened business disaster; and we financed a general speculative mania which infected every element of our population.

In 1897 President Hadley could not foresee the ensuing

growth in size and complexity of our economic mechanism, nor could he anticipate resulting economic behavior. He and like-minded contemporaries were looking backward rather than forward when they pictured the harmonies of a price-regulated economy. By contrast, our existing economy is rapidly shifting and tenuous in its interrelationships, complex and baffling in its causal sequences. There is no simple explanation of its workings; and only the lessons of experience, coupled with the researches of scholars and the imaginative hunches of philosophic minds, can lead us to a better understanding of its fundamentals. It is not without significance that our collegiate schools of business sprang into being largely during this highly dynamic third period, and that they now occupy the most strategic educational post on our economic front.

COLLEGIATE SCHOOLS OF BUSINESS

In a very real sense schools of agriculture and of engineering are schools of business. Throughout the second period of our economic development the "capacity of the market to absorb goods generally exceeded the ability of manufacturers to produce them,"² This pressure of emphasis on manufactured goods naturally stimulated the study of pure and applied physical science. Schools of engineering were a logical outgrowth. Between 1870 and 1890 some twenty schools of the first rank were established; by 1915 there were more than sixty such institutions giving instruction to nearly 70,000 students. Only in recent decades, "when the development of production has potentially outstripped the available market and shifted emphasis to distribution has the manufacturer-merchant become a pioneer on the frontier of human desires and needs . . . His problem is chiefly one of adjustment . . . He must shape his making and selling policies alike to satisfy contradictory conditions and methods and to employ with-

² A. W. Shaw, *An Approach to Business Problems* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), p. 104.

out waste the divergent and overlapping agencies through which present-day distribution is carried on.”^a The collegiate school of business is the educational analogue of this effort towards “adjustment” and towards the formulating of “making and selling policies”; and both the effort and the need out of which it grew did not become pressing until the Nation had passed into the third stage of our economic development. Prior to 1908 there were only five collegiate schools of business in the United States. After 1910 hardly a year passed without the emergence of a reputable new school. In 1916 the Association of Collegiate Schools of Business was formed. It now includes in its membership forty-seven selected institutions, and others outside of the Association fold are operating with higher efficiency than did the few schools existing in 1900.

The first collegiate school of business in the United States was the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. Its founder in 1881 prescribed that the school should provide facilities for “education in the principles underlying successful government” as well as “training suitable for those who intend to engage in business or to undertake the management of property.” It is significant that a successful “captain of industry,” operating during the decades when “three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves” was an unhappily descriptive aphorism, should stress the importance of educating young men in the handling and conserving of private property holdings. It was not, however, until after 1900 that the Wharton School developed the genuinely distinctive qualities of a present-day school of business, and this applies equally to the few other institutions which sprang into being around 1900. It was not until 1910 that schools of business of modern type began to develop in number and influence. In the 80’s and 90’s attention could well be focused on the management of fortunes accumulated by captains of industry; but in the first

^a A. W. Shaw, *op. cit.*

two decades of the present century complexities in business organization and administration called loudly for consideration and became reflected in educational ideals. This involved an appreciable shift in school objectives. Group as contrasted with personal considerations came to the fore. The foundations of management and its internal policies came to be stressed. Efforts towards balanced curricula were carried forward to lead the student through basic analytical processes looking towards the formulation of plans for despatching business, for exercising business controls. Physical and social environment factors, common business techniques and procedures, functional aspects of enterprise, such as production, finance, marketing, and risk-bearing, came to be stressed in our curricula. The common objective has been that of providing substantial preparation for business technicians as well as for those whose subsequent careers might lead them into responsibilities requiring the formulation and execution of working plans in business. In some measure the interrelations of business units have been considered in our educational scheme, and social control devices described and evaluated; but, until recent years, the prevailing emphasis has been on the internal problems and policies of the business unit or individual establishment.

PROBLEMS OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

With the advent of discussion and effort towards a better economic alignment, the school of business finds itself in the vortex of current proposals and endeavors. Its stress on problems of business management has been and continues to be its major concern; but it is easy in fulfilling this purpose to ignore or minimize the social implications of private endeavor pursued for profit. Management too often fixes its objectives within limits set by the interests of the individual enterprise. The current business depression is in no small measure a consequence of these limited objectives. It is no exaggeration to say that in normal times the

vast preponderance of business enterprisers have conducted their affairs within the narrow horizons set by the problems and policies of their own particular establishments. In instances, the frontiers of this provincialism have been crossed to the extent of a necessary minimum of regard for conditions within the trade of which the individual enterprise forms a part. This is true particularly of those larger concerns in which heavy overhead so often induces ruthless competitive practices. Efforts towards trade agreements, within a law based on nineteenth-century economic conditions, have been a result. But the proportion of enterprisers who have wrestled in any effective measure with the articulation of diverse units, already internally well organized, has been small. The depression focused attention on this lack with such painfully dramatic emphasis that some commentators have been led to characterize our past ways of doing business as chaotic. They have not been that. If there has not been a system of economic harmonies, there have at least been partial adaptations, and there have been resulting products—goods and services—both large and valuable. The point of significance is that these results have not been planned in any major sense. Their scope has been sectional and incidental public benefits have been limited too largely by conflicting private interests; and even these benefits in the long run cannot survive without controls. Pioneering on virgin frontiers is an engrossing and romantic occupation; but it is a necessarily transient one, outmoded by the progress of science which has yielded an industrial civilization dominated by machine techniques. Necessary social policies are more than half recognized in many quarters; but ignorance and fear in various forms, as well as the selfish interests of the more comfortable, obstruct the course of wise common policy.

Quite naturally, many of the controllers of enterprise welcome price standards looking towards the elimination of the cut-throat or "gyp" competitor, but resent the suggestion of controls

over wage standards, hours of labor, output, expansion of plant and equipment, and corporate financing methods. In the face of this attitude, perhaps our experience in formulating industrial standards is too fresh and too limited to warrant the hope of successfully applying integrating controls in any near-by future. But the problem is as insistent in its inevitableness as it is intriguing in its perplexities. To safeguard price standards without barring the road to plenty, to guide expansion and innovation without closing the door of opportunity, and to safeguard capital commitments without placing a premium on inefficiency involve delicate adjustments which call for the highest order of intelligence, experience, and public spirit. Brains and courage and high ethical standards will be required in unwonted measure; and our university schools of business should become normal channels through which these qualities may be expected to flow into effective personal functioning. The demand for administrative personnel has already shown itself, and as concrete need for workers in this field expands, as it surely will, our schools will find an outlet for succeeding years of effort in promoting a broad education for economic and business service, amply large to justify past endeavors and amply tempting to future experimentation. We face both a challenge and an opportunity.

NOTICE

The second conference on instruction as preparation for marriage and family life will be held at the University of North Carolina, July 8 to 12. The program may be had by addressing Professor Ernest R. Groves, Chapel Hill, N. C.

BUSINESS EDUCATION IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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Our business life is constantly changing. The young men and women who go into business today face an entirely different situation from that which their older brothers and sisters faced even five years ago. The buyer of the merchandise and service offered by business faces a different situation now as compared to that which was faced by his mother or father even a generation ago. Have our changes in education for business, both for the worker in business and for the user or ultimate consumer of the services of business, kept pace with this changing situation? The purpose of this article is to indicate wherein and to what extent we have not kept pace with the changing occupational and consumer situation in business, and to show briefly how we can adjust the training given in the secondary school to the current business situation.

Business education in the secondary school was taken over from the private business school. The teachers, also, during the earlier stages of this development were taken over from the private business schools. One or two generations ago the young man who wished to enter a business occupation found bookkeeping an ideal stepping stone. The young woman who was just beginning to find her place in business life usually found stenographic work her best means of securing a business occupation. Therefore, the secondary school, to the extent to which it was planning to aid young men and women in entering business occupations, was quite justified in putting its major emphasis upon training for bookkeeping and stenographic occupations.

Within the last decade this situation has changed. Bookkeeping and shorthand are no longer the primary means of entry into business life. This is especially true for boys. In fact, some careful thinkers now feel that such courses are not as satisfactory as a

good general education. As a consequence about two thirds of the students enrolled in high-school business work are girls. Even for girls it is now doubtful whether stenography and bookkeeping are in most cases the paths to a satisfactory business occupational life. Skill in office-machine work, filing, general clerical ability, and some executive skill are often quite as helpful, and in some cases even more worth while as a basis for success in business life.

For this reason it is highly desirable that the entire program of bookkeeping instruction in the secondary schools be reorganized. While effective training for vocational work in business is highly important, it is even more important that we give adequate training to all students who use the services that business makes available. Only about one fifth of our working population enters business as an occupation, but all of us are actual users of the services which business gives us in marketing the products of industry. The usual citizen's understanding of the problems of buying, banking, and of the other functions of business is notoriously unsatisfactory. It would probably be unwise to put all the blame for our periodic depressions upon the inefficiency of the buyers, yet, when all things are considered, it is quite probable that unwise use of credit by the ultimate buyer, unwise purchases, unwise planning of money expenditures are at least as great a cause for our economic depressions as any other factor that may be involved in developing these unfortunate situations.

It is most desirable that the secondary schools face the problem of economic illiteracy in our population. The high schools can and should do a great deal to reduce the extreme illiteracy of the public in regard to our economic situation. The department of business education in secondary schools cannot, of course, deal with this problem entirely by itself, but it should be one of the major means by which this training is given.

The course which has been developed in the last decade, called elementary business training, or introduction to business, is an

admirable example of the possibility in this field. Its purpose is to give an understanding of what business is, how it functions, and how it serves both the individual and society as a whole. This course may readily be made a unit in the core curriculum.

To the extent to which bookkeeping is of value to the general consumer of business services it should, of course, be made available to all. Indeed, the course in elementary business training to which we have referred serves excellently to achieve this purpose. More students are enrolled in this subject than in any other business subject in the high school, except typing and bookkeeping. To the extent to which the graduates of the secondary school immediately become specialized workers in business occupations, to that extent of course we should, and in a measure do, give specialized training in the work which they will undertake.

Stenography has been much more efficient from a vocational point of view, but even here many students who take the subject make no vocational use of it. It is true that many teachers of this subject rationalize themselves into the position that students get marginal values out of the subject, such as an increased ability in the use of English. This is possibly true in some measure. If, however, the students who make no vocational use of stenography took work which prepared *directly* for increased ability in the use of English the result would probably be attained more rapidly and more efficiently. While typing was a strictly vocational subject, its scope has so changed in the last decade that it can no longer be classified as such. There are so many nonvocational uses for typing and there is so much appeal in it for many types of students that its general extracurricular value makes it significant to far more people than its limited vocational value.

Granting that we reduce, or at least reorganize the work and enrollment in the two major traditional business subjects of bookkeeping and shorthand in the high schools, what shall we, from the vocational point of view, put in their place or alongside of

them? More workers in business are general, that is, not highly specialized clerks, than are either stenographers or bookkeepers.

It is highly desirable that schools set up programs of training in office practice, which as far as possible duplicate real office situations. In these classes students should learn office practice in such a way that it will thoroughly acclimate them to this environment when they secure positions in business offices. For those who show special aptitude it would seem desirable to offer short intensive courses in preparation for the more usual forms of office work involving specialized office machines, such as the various calculating, bookkeeping, and duplicating devices. While some of the more progressive schools in those communities that have weathered the financial crisis fairly adequately have surprisingly efficient programs of training in office practice, the usual school offering business training has neglected its opportunity in this field.

If we include among those who are salesmen those managerial workers who also undertake a considerable amount of selling effort, we find that more than half those who are engaged in business occupations are concerned with some type of selling. Far more young men and women find opportunities in selling occupations immediately after graduation from high school than in either bookkeeping or stenographic occupations, yet the secondary schools have made little definite preparation for such work. To be sure there are many obstacles in the presentation of effective sales training in the secondary schools.

It is, of course, futile to assume that we can make all or a large proportion of our business students effective sales workers, but it is possible for us to train a considerable number of selected students for definite selling occupations in which they can make a worth-while living. Our inability to establish sound programs of vocational training for selling and general marketing occupations is one of the major indictments of our program of vocational education in the secondary schools. It is imperative for the secondary

schools to remedy this situation as rapidly as possible, since it offers one of the finest fields for the placement of our students in business. Anything lessening the problem of placements will be a contribution to the effectiveness of the secondary schools.

If the courses in business subjects are reorganized with little or no change in the internal structure of the presentation of these subjects, then the reorganization of the courses is futile. Only to the extent to which a reorganization of the courses and curricula in business education actually effect a change in the attitude and basic teaching given those subjects will the reorganization be effective. If this change can be made without course reorganization, so much the better. Usually, however, a change in course organization will help to clarify the teacher's understanding of the change in objective and subject matter to be presented.

While in this article we have made some severe criticisms of business education as conducted in the high school, these suggestions should be used cautiously. Compared to the comparative uselessness of many academic subjects whose only justification is an outworn conception of disciplinary training, the business subjects are shining examples of realistic adaptation of schoolwork to social and individual needs. While the traditional business subjects do not in all ways meet the highest expectations of the idealist, they are vastly superior to most of the other subjects offered. The enthusiastic support which students and their parents give to business subjects in terms of constant increases in enrollment gives ample evidence of this position. Business teachers, however, are becoming increasingly unwilling to justify their work merely on a comparative basis. They are no longer satisfied because their work is superior to that of many other departments. They wish to see the training they give so thoroughly significant and worthwhile, that the continued and increased public support of the high schools will be beyond question justified to the community in general and to the business man in particular.

READJUSTMENTS IN EDUCATION FOR BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

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Few persons or business organizations, likewise few nations regardless of their material wealth or the character of their social and political institutions, have escaped the effects of the economic depression of the past five years. Industrial activity has suffered the greatest relapse in its history, while universally the severity and duration of the depression have taxed the fortitude of even the most courageous.

A PERIOD OF REEXAMINATION

But this period, however soul-trying as it has been, has not been entirely devoid of favorable aspects. One of these is the fact that adversity, if faced with a hopeful and determined spirit, provides an incentive to reconsider the objectives of contemporary civilization and to reexamine the effectiveness of existing institutions and processes for achieving these objectives. In a search for measures which will produce greater economic stability and yield a "more abundant life" to our citizenry, the American people today are subjecting themselves, their customs, and their institutions to a degree of critical scrutiny which is perhaps greater than ever before. There are some who feel that the "system" is at fault and should be radically remodeled. A greater number of us, however, continue to believe that there is no convincing proof that the present "system" is unworkable; that no system could be devised which would be immune from the shock of those severe and extensive dislocations and disequilibria which are inevitably created by armed conflict of the magnitude of the World War; and that while there are undoubtedly imperfections in the functioning of the present economic and political machinery the commonweal will be best served by concentrating efforts upon the

eradication of such imperfections within the existing order rather than by destroying the whole body.

The appearance of this spirit of reappraisal is a healthy development; and it is encouraging, though natural, that it is prevalent among educators with respect to the appropriate rôle to be played by institutions of learning that they may most effectively disseminate the knowledge and foster the habits of thought essential to a rational solution of the problems of the future. One visible sign of this spirit is the emphasis placed of late by our universities upon the importance of improving the quality of instruction and upon the need for greater coördination between the different fields embraced in the curriculum, rather than upon physical equipment. Another manifestation is the fact that this issue of *THE JOURNAL* is devoted largely to the presentation of points of view which may merit consideration in an endeavor to keep the quality and content of "business education" abreast of the needs and conditions of the times.

I have been asked to express the point of view of business, presumably business conducted in corporate form, with respect to the general topic of "*Readjustments in Business Education*." Naturally, I cannot speak for business as an entity; indeed, there has not been sufficient time or opportunity for the views of business as regards the educational training of those who are to enter that field to become crystallized. No business man who has thoughtfully observed conditions during the past few years, however, can fail to have become imbued with certain views as to factors which should be weighed in making certain desirable readjustments in business education. I shall present merely a few thoughts of one observer.

DEFINITION OF "BUSINESS" AND "EDUCATION"

In my discussion of this subject, "business education" means training in the field of business offered by recognized educational

institutions at any level from the secondary-school education available fairly early in life, through college undergraduate and graduate education, to the adult education available after maturity. "Business" means business management, rather than the details of business procedure, and particularly the upper level of management which formulates policies that influence social and economic progress. By "education" I contemplate any and all formal educational training offered for those who may come to occupy positions on that administrative level. These definitions debar discussion of the cultural phases of education and of the relation of education to the older professions, even though these are carried on in association with business enterprises. They also exclude discussion of the essential character and tremendous value of supplemental self-education during maturity. Education in its fullest sense for any individual is, of course, a lifelong process, while formal education is serviceable primarily as providing a basis for, and a guide to, later self-education.

COMPLICATED ADJUSTMENTS IN THE BUSINESS SYSTEM

For the benefit of those educators who will read these words, there is no need to indulge in an historical review of changes over the centuries in the social and political environment in which business enterprises operate. Similarly, there is no reason for rehearsing the changes which, induced and stimulated by the impact of science upon business, have occurred in the structural organization of business since the industrial revolution. The important point to be recognized is not the *fact* of change, but the *rate* of change which in our business and economic life has been accelerated constantly over the years, until in the 1920's there were more numerous and far-reaching changes than occurred in several centuries preceding that period. The fact that our modern economic system is so highly dynamic in character intensifies the problems of business management, as it does the problems of gov-

ernment and of educational institutions. Incidentally, those who believe that the "system" is responsible for all of our troubles may overlook the possibility that the source of difficulty may lie in the fact that the "system" has not been adequately adjusted, or has not yet had sufficient time to adjust itself, to the constant succession of changes in our business and economic life over recent years. Before decision is reached to scrap the "system," it would seem logical to introduce into it those modifications and flexibilities which might permit it to adjust promptly to changed conditions. In any event, the dynamic quality of contemporary life necessitates constant vigilance to detect and correct maladjustments.

Concurrently with the increased tempo of technological and structural change, our society has become more and more complex, thus creating social forces which complicate our economic and political problems. In the field of business, the present generation has witnessed the assembly of large aggregations of capital and the coincidental development of large corporate units in lines in which large-scale operations make for economy and efficiency. The Federal income-tax returns for 1932 showed that there were some 450,000 active corporations in the country, of which about 22,000 reported total assets of more than \$1,000,000 each. Also, the effect of the growth of the corporate form of enterprise upon the number of individual entrepreneurs is indicated, at least in the manufacturing field, by the United States Census of Manufactures which showed 133,000 proprietors and firm members in 1929 as compared with 273,000 in 1909.

OUR CENTER OF POWER

The development of large corporate organizations has undoubtedly been a product of the environment of business. But at the same time these organizations have been highly important factors in shaping the changes in our environment and in creating the present industrialized economic system. Whereas in past cen-

turies the center of power in a nation may have been in nonbusiness groups—in the army or the church, for example—it is now lodged in our business and economic organizations and, incidentally, this situation in recent years, up to 1929 at least, gave our people the highest standard of living ever experienced by any nation. The manner in which this power is exercised will be the chief determinant of the future course of our civilization. With power goes responsibility. If the power of business is not exercised along lines which will promote national welfare and satisfy the aspirations of our people, it is to be expected that this power must pass to other hands.

Faced with conditions of rapid change, business management has been forced to concentrate its attention upon the development and application of those techniques of operation essential to the successful conduct of the enterprise. The development of these techniques demanded specialization in functions. Necessarily, managements were at times staffed by experts whose horizons were limited to their own specialties. At the same time, educational institutions sought to contribute to the new techniques by making available formal courses of training in the various processes involved in business operations. In short, during this period of unprecedented change, the effort in both the business and educational world seems to have been focused primarily upon expert *craftsmanship* in business management without any great emphasis upon the essential aspects of a proper relationship between business and the social order.

THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW

Under the circumstances, management, with some notable exceptions, did not always consider dispassionately the social and political implications of business policies and practices. Matters of the immediate present tended to determine policy. The social point of view was all too frequently a secondary consideration

and the need for molding an enduring social order was to some extent, at least, overlooked.

These personal observations are not advanced in any critical spirit. In the light of the environment and character of the American people, it is difficult to see how the tendencies of the period could have been materially different. Business management during the past few decades has been passing through an evolutionary stage in the struggle for ever advancing standards of human welfare. Much of permanent value has been accomplished and should be preserved; some mistakes have been made which should be corrected, but for this time must be allowed and patience exercised. The progress which business management has made may be momentarily obscured, but the fact remains that the attainment of a high degree of craftsmanship in management has yielded net gains of fundamental importance to society.

THREEFOLD RESPONSIBILITY OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Craftsmanship, however, is not alone sufficient to meet the problems presented by the changed environment of the present day. With the progressive separation between the functions of management and of ownership which necessarily accompanies large corporate organization, business management must assume a threefold responsibility and must recognize that in fact, if not in law, it is a professional trustee acting in the joint interests of owners, workers, and customers. The parts of the present economic machine are so interrelated and interdependent that a course of action adopted in one segment may have profound effects upon the smooth functioning of many other parts and processes, and thus may indirectly influence the lives and fortunes of thousands of remote individuals. A business institution can no longer live unto itself alone. Having attained a position of unparalleled influence over human welfare and the course of civilization, business men must accept and discharge the responsibilities attached to their activities.

UNDERSTANDING SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL FORCES

In my judgment, therefore, business craftsmanship needs to be supplemented by business *statesmanship*. Those who are to manage the business enterprises of the future should be possessed of a real understanding of the structure and processes of economic life and be able to integrate the knowledge of natural scientists, social scientists, and the whole galaxy of specialists. Business must be better prepared to grasp the underlying significance of the social and economic forces which it sets in motion and to recognize the true nature of the economic, social, and political problems which are created by the dynamic quality of its present environment. Management must be equipped to consider in social terms the ultimate objectives of economic life and to make its policies consistent with a sound philosophy. It must look beyond the horizon of a single organization or a single industry and weigh the social implications of its practices. The business statesman will discard opportunistic policy in favor of reasoned long-term programs which are consistent with the best interests of our social and economic order. This does not mean, however, that the business statesman will discard all consideration of self-interest. Rather the self-interest which enters into his decisions will be an enlightened self-interest, based upon full realization of the basic truth that business cannot long prosper at the expense of society as a whole. This statesmanship is not entirely lacking in present-day business, for the present generation of business men includes not a few who have signally exhibited these qualities. But coming generations of business men will need to be more consciously trained if the supply of business statesmen is to be commensurate with the need for them.

DEVELOPING BUSINESS STATESMANSHIP

It is not a part of my assignment to suggest specific means which educational institutions should adopt to participate and assist in

training for business statesmanship. I have merely presented what I believe is an important point of view regarding business education and one to be considered in any readjustment of business training in our schools and universities. Whether or not educational institutions can do more than make the coming generations of business men aware that business management requires statesmanlike qualities and define the nature of the problems of business statesmanship, I do not know. Certainly business statesmen can never emerge full-fledged from these institutions; but there is doubtless much that these institutions can do through seminars, colloquia, and other mechanisms of graduate and adult education to inculcate in students of business endowed with appropriate natural aptitudes those habits of broad philosophical thought which are essential to the development of the qualities of business statesmanship.

THE CONSUMER ADDRESSES THE BUSINESS EDUCATOR

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The consumer's interest is inseparable from the national economic welfare. If a program can be discovered that promises an adequate and secure living to all the people, then its fulfillment is everybody's goal regardless of his position in the economic order. Assuming that this is still a remote possibility, the consumer does fear that business educators may unwittingly continue to keep the consumer ignorantly submissive.

The average commercial teacher reflects the point of view of the executive, advertiser, salesman, banker, merchant, property owner, investor, and trader. Therefore, it would do no harm to remind the business educator that very close to nine tenths of his pupils are destined, under present circumstances, to be low-paid wage and salary workers—not entrepreneurs—much of whose interest in economic life will consist in making the hard-earned dollar buy an increasingly higher standard of living.

Most of the current so-called consumer courses and textbooks in the field of commercial education are such in name only. As a class, the teachers of commercial education, in sheer self-defense, have appropriated an appealing slogan and have attached it to the customary producer-centered courses in general business training.

There is an enormous demand for small personal loans on which the unwary masses pay an interest rate of from eighteen to forty-three per cent. In commercial departments the children of these same masses are taught the intricacies of the Federal Reserve System, national banks, State banks, but practically nothing of the formula for computing the exorbitant interest rates of industrial banks and personal finance companies. Very little is learned of credit unions which had an almost perfect record of

solvency during the whole of the depression. The postal savings bank, the Nation's own repository for small savings, is hardly mentioned at all in the business courses of the Nation's own schools.

The virtue of thrift is universally exalted in the textbooks of commerce. This concept must be reëxamined in the light of our new knowledge of the distribution, security, and continuity of income. It is necessary to decide whether the income of youths and adults shall be directed towards saving or towards useful spending and the enrichment of individual and family life. It is necessary to determine whether uncontrolled risks can be secured by the present individual savings of the masses. There appears to be much impressive evidence that health, old-age, and unemployment risks have been inadequately secured by individual thrift. Impending Federal legislation and universal experience abroad dictate that the subject of thrift shall receive a broader and more socialized treatment than it has had hitherto in commercial courses.

I have just completed a survey of twenty-eight courses in consumption which reflect the state of mind of intelligent consumers. They are becoming informed about the quality and performance of goods; the selling artifices of the retail merchant; the common modes of misrepresentation and adulteration; the falsification of weights and measures; the illegitimate use of brand names and labels; the manipulation of packages and containers; the quackery of foods and drugs; the unreliability of the press; the practice of price fixing; the shifting of costs to the consumer; the exorbitant cost of consumer credit; and the extortionate interest rates on personal loans. The courses reveal a strong note of resentment against the ethical standards of business. The instructors appear to be bent on exposing the greedy merchant, the unscrupulous advertiser, the speculative builder, the medical quack, and the whole gallery of outwardly respectable captains of commerce

and industry. This is evident not only in direct statement, but also in strictures on *laissez faire*. The most common themes in these courses emphasize consumer protection, organization, and education. To satisfy the consumer, business educators will have to offer something stronger than self-improvement and personal success in business.

SELF-INTEREST IS THE DOMINATING MOTIF

The critical consumer has observed with apprehension the tendency of business educators to cultivate the doctrine of individual success and unrestricted competition. He has watched with alarm the progressive decline in the moral standards of business. He has been shocked by the magnitude of bank suspensions, commercial failures, misappropriation of investment funds, and corruption of public officials. These are not charged directly to the business educators; but as a class they are culpable to the extent that they have wittingly or unwittingly extolled the attributes of self-interest and have neglected to inculcate the principle of commercial integrity. Across the pages of every course and textbook in commercial education is written large the theme of individual material success. In a profit economy it requires more than common insight to discriminate between selfish business and the social good.

Nor should business educators ignore the inexorable march towards larger collective economic enterprise, towards the increasing socialization of industry. Whether we like it or not, we are on the threshold of a certain amount of public ownership or management of some of our utilities, banking institutions, mineral and natural resources, residential buildings, transportation, and insurance systems. Even if one refuses to admit the inevitability of these trends, no one will deny that we are confronted by increasing governmental control or regulation of economic life. The number of public employees is certain to grow enormously

larger. The students in our schools and colleges who are destined to be drawn into public service need to acquire new attitudes of responsibility to the common welfare. It is going to be a tremendous task to break down the common conceptions of political preferment and bureaucratic efficiency. Business education must recognize that the Government will open up many new occupational opportunities in which disinterested and expert managerial, accounting, statistical, and economic service is required.

The American consumer is obliged to bargain in an economy which is predominantly corporate in nature. If he is sensitive to the forces which control his environment, he feels the constant palpable presence of the corporate ghost. As a purchaser of goods and services, as a reader of the press, as user of radio and cinema, as citizen, taxpayer, public official, and employee, he has to reckon with the corporation. It would be trite here to reiterate the widely known quantitative evidence of the magnitude of corporate control of industry and finance. Suffice it to say that the consumer expects the department of business, as well as all other departments of a school, to make a scholarly and objective analysis of all the ramifications of the corporate structure of business. The power of the corporation is enormous and no amount of intelligence may be adequate to cope with it. But the school is in duty bound to investigate and reveal how it affects the price of what the citizen buys; the wages for which he works; the officials for whom he votes; the taxes that he is forced to pay; the savings which he invests; the opinions he is to form; the security of his employment; the stability of the economic order; and the peace of the world. Then, only, may he discover how he may act if it is in his power to make or to influence a choice.

NEED TO FACE SOCIAL REALITIES

The consumer is obliged to be a realist and, as such, he implores the business educator to keep in constant touch with the realities

of social life. Purely theoretical discussions of marginal utility, diminishing returns, Gresham's law, and the like, will not pass for consumption economics. The activities should be rich and varied and should reproduce realistic consumption situations, as far as possible. It must not be confined to textbook learning and recitation. The courses should include field trips, interviews, and other first-hand experiences. The learning activities should involve investigating, weighing, measuring, consulting experts, obtaining estimates, securing public documents, comparing prices, calculating costs, and using practical commercial forms. The physical setting of every classroom should resemble a laboratory or workshop equipped with materials as they occur in life. Filing cabinets should contain pictures, pamphlets, charts, diagrams, press clippings, and other fugitive printed matter that is necessary in investigations, analyses, and researches. The walls should be lined with shelves containing books, periodicals, research monographs, documents, and other primary source materials. To be effective in modifying the consumption habits of the learner, the course should be organized into a coherent sequence of real and meaningful business situations.

TRANSFORMING VOCATIONAL INTO CONSUMER CONTENT

It is becoming increasingly difficult to find employment for the graduates of vocational secondary-school courses in the fields for which they were trained. If the secondary school continues to decline as a center of vocational training, the foresighted administrative official would do well to proceed immediately to abolish the existing departmental organization. In its place he should create a new organization in which social-economic life would undoubtedly emerge as a new department. Home economics, industrial and commercial education might merge with the social and economic studies. The members of these former vocational departments would then assume responsibility for teaching those

phases of social-economic life (including consumption) which they are best equipped to handle. Only in this way can the vocational content be thoroughly transformed into genuine learning activities for effective consumption.

In the meantime, where the old organization is being continued, the commercial departments in search of general materials of practical value are looking with favor to the activities of consumption. This field may be subdivided into five parts: first, consumption of commodities; second, general purchasing problems; third, consumers' financial problems; fourth, social phases of consumption; and, fifth, consumption theory. Of these, the department of commercial education might appropriate the financial aspects of consumption and possibly the purchase of services, such as transportation and communication. The topics in these areas have been studied in business courses in the past, but they have never been taught primarily in the interest of the consumer. Purchasing problems have been taught in salesmanship courses, but with a few exceptions the treatment has been profit-centered. The most fertile field for commercial departments to cultivate includes such topics as buying and renting a home, taxes, borrowing and lending, saving and investing, household accounting, installment buying, insurance, and price.

The basic courses in typewriting and shorthand are useful to many laymen. They should be made generally available to all students on the secondary level. A pupil should not be permitted to graduate unless he has mastered the ability to type at a moderate rate of speed. For thirty per cent of the graduates of secondary schools who pursue some form of advanced education, a knowledge of shorthand may be a valuable asset. For many others who have occasion to record spoken discourse, it is a great convenience. If, then, we may think of the consumer as an individual performing nonvocational functions, the commercial educator has it in his power to contribute to the economy and convenience of his activities in graphic communication.

CONCLUSION

Very little can be accomplished for the consumer unless the commercial teacher can divest himself of the rôle of vicarious entrepreneur and assume the rôle of a household purchaser. The study of thrift should be replaced by an analysis of social security. In a profit economy the pupil should learn how to distinguish between selfish business and public welfare. The business educator should not ignore the inevitable march towards increased socialization of industry. The department of commercial education should assume responsibility for training the expert in the public service. It is the duty of the school to make a scholarly and objective analysis of the corporate structure of business and of its consequences. The courses in commercial education should be organized into a sequence of real and meaningful situations. The forward-looking administrative official should consider the reorganization of the secondary curriculum in order to transform declining vocational subjects into vital departments for the education of the consumer. The basic courses in typewriting and shorthand should be made available to all students on the secondary level. These are the consumer's proposals to the business educator.

WHAT DO WE ASK OF BUSINESS EDUCATION?

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The problems involved in readjustments in business education to meet the needs of today are many and complicated. But a respect for measurement and a willingness to submit to its disciplines gives one courage to attack these problems. They are both tangible and intangible. They do not lend themselves easily to clear and simple statement, and the units, methods, and devices with which to make the measurements are not easy to find. But a systematic search, patience, and a willingness to face facts will do wonders. So will the belief that no problem is insoluble just because no one has found a solution; that failures are important only as indications of unfruitful attacks on a problem, and that successes are chiefly important in that they suggest directions in which one can profitably push research.

It is not strange that business education should face readjustments, since business and education have both gone through so many drastic changes, especially during the last few years. Business has changed in what it covers and in its emphases. Personnel in business has changed and also the standards by which people are selected, taught, promoted, and released. Education has changed in both theories and practice. This is true in the schools and colleges; in vocational and trade schools that prepare for industry and business, in the so-called "business schools," and in the training done by business itself, in its own schools and training courses.

The history of business, and of education for it, is available. Surveys of the present state of affairs are being made. It is the future with which we must concern ourselves, if we are to be of most use. For what are we preparing in business? What do we ask of business education?

Whatever our school of thought, we all agree on the need for long-time planning. Much of the championship for such planning has unfortunately been lost. It, the planning, has been associated with projects that were unacceptable for other reasons than their planning. Much so-called "planning" was not such at all, in the engineering sense of the term. Support for planning has also been lost because some of the people doing it are not fitted for this work either by aptitude or training. An adequate planner has not only a flair for this work, but training, knowledge, experience, and the ability to face facts and to build on them. Long-time planning, for business, as for industry and for social and economic welfare, stresses the development of every individual to use his individual differences for the benefit of mankind and to recognize his likenesses to all mankind. This, of course, implies a high sense of social responsibility, as well as a consciousness of individuality, that is as yet an ideal rather than a reality.

We seem to arrive nearest this ideal through the action of people who have developed a constructive and on the whole an optimistic attitude, or philosophy of life, and certain technics of effective living. These include physical adequacy, mental alertness, emotional serenity, and social adjustment. Such people should be able to find for us all that economic security and group and individual stability that will continuously solve the changing problems that we must expect to face, if we are to progress at all.

It is interesting to note that business is beginning to realize the value of "personality," the sort of thing that should result from acquiring such technics as have been outlined above. It has been an oversight of education and of business to underestimate or overlook the importance of personality. Education has accepted and trained boys and girls for jobs that their personalities were not adequate to fill, often because administrators had to get students in order to finance their institutions, which could not run without the fees or the endowment that the students provided,

directly or indirectly. Business has accepted the result of the training, because of the diploma or of a blind faith in the result of education. This has been a terrible waste in all of its aspects. The schools have wasted time and energy teaching those unfit for the sort of training they offered. The students have wasted time and energy training for jobs they will never be able to fill satisfactorily. They could often have been well trained for jobs that they could fill and enjoy, while they were wasting time and preparing for nothing but dissatisfaction. Business has wasted time trying out a product that could never be useful. The result has been a large turnover and often a transfer to the schools and colleges of dissatisfactions that should have gone to the students selected and to their home training and lack of personality assets.

Another reason why the product of some business education is unsatisfactory is because too often courses are offered because teachers are available who can teach them, rather than because students need the training. This should be remembered when we complain of curricula and of the lack of adjustment between them and changing needs. There are not one or two, but many time lags *between the needs of business and supplying these needs. It takes time for these needs to be apparent. After that, it takes time for them to be formulated in such shape that business education understands them. Then it is necessary to have teachers adequate to do the training required. Finally, it is necessary to have students adequate to profit by the training. And by the time all these lags have been adjusted, the needs may have changed!*

But stating the needs is the important thing. And what business can claim that it knows them and is handing on its information adequately? Very few, if the practice of business and industrial "scouts" is any indication. These scouts, who go each spring to the various schools and colleges that furnish training to find and select "the cream of the crop," would make an interesting study. They have no uniform program of investigation. Some trust to the

judgment of the faculty, some to that of the personnel people, some to student opinion as to the effectiveness of those whom they spot as possible prospects for work in their organizations. Many use some combination of these technics. But there are not a few who believe that they are born or trained to locate valuable people at sight! They may use contour of face, color of hair, or any other of a long list of pseudoscientific criteria, which they may camouflage, conceal, acknowledge, or boast of, if they use them consciously, and follow blindly, if they use them unconsciously. Sometimes they are actually excellent judges of character and aptitudes, and so make wise selections for the companies whom they represent, in spite of the foolish technics that they use. There are, of course, many well-trained and most efficient "scouts." A good scout is worth more than any money he may ask! If he himself has an agreeable personality, and real ability to "sell" his organization not only to the people whom he wants as employees for his company, but to every one in the schools and colleges where he goes, he can do a job that is a big asset to his firm.

Business education to the uninitiated has the appearance of being a very simple problem as compared to other types of education. But here are some of the facts. Only a few colleges train specifically for business, and these mostly in their special and graduate schools, or in their senior year, or in six-year courses that combine training for business with the so-called "culture courses." Many colleges, including most of the women's colleges, deprecate training for business while at college, and believe that their students should plan to take such "vocational courses" as will fit them for the entering jobs in business after they have taken their bachelor of arts degrees. This means in many cases an extra year of study, often in a private business school which is expensive but usually does a good job and as a result gets good jobs for its graduates. The high schools that give business training usually substitute the vocational courses for culture courses.

They may do a good job, as they see it, and the graduates can often compete satisfactorily with college graduates, so far as skills are concerned. But they, of course, lack the training in background culture that makes it possible for them to go as far as the college trained. In many schools neither the home background of the students who elect the business courses nor that of the teachers to whom they are assigned can supply much such background, which makes the lack of culture courses even more serious. Granted that the college trained often lack the practical experience, and the incentive to catch up, that the noncollege trained may have, there is still a great need for those who teach business technics to the noncollege trained to try to make them adequate for the competition.

While it cannot be said that business has succeeded in formulating its demands in the clean-cut, simple, and specific terms that we hope for, it has come to realize and to say that three of the things that it requires are: (1) an ability and willingness to work hard; (2) high quality of workmanship; (3) adjustability. These seem specifications that can easily be met by education, but they are not. They make fundamental demands on the worker. He must be self-disciplined and also be willing to submit to taking orders from others; he must know how to get quantity and quality of work without undue effort or fatigue; he must have stability and adaptability, at the same time. This implies careful selection as well as training, on the part of the school, and it also implies far less specialization than has been usual.

We have all overdone specialization, not in so far as we have trained people to do things with high finish, but in that we have prepared them to do too few things, so that, if a shift of job becomes necessary, they cannot turn to other things with the assurance that they can succeed at them. *We have neglected the type of fundamental training that makes transfer easy.* This has been proved during the past years by the number of people who

were unable to adjust themselves to other work when they lost their jobs. Those of us who tried to find reemployment for these people know that they feared to attempt work, had forgotten how to learn, or had nothing upon which to build new vocational skills.

Business has helped itself in many cases, but complicated the problem of business education by furnishing its own specialized vocational training for its employees. It has sometimes been able to tell the schools of various types from which its employees come what sort of education they can best give as a preparation for what business itself expects to give. But there is far more tendency to ask for "personality plus" than for a specific curriculum. And there is more "Do not" than "Do." "Do not give any specialized training," "Do not try to give vocational training," "Do not over-train, and possibly kill all initiative," etc.

We have always felt that great assistance could be given in the problems of business education by considering skills and satisfactions. The classification into skills of various sorts is a very simple one. There are skills in handling (1) materials; (2) machines; (3) money; (4) memoranda (or paper work); and (5) men.

Yet it enables one to analyze both men and jobs effectively. What skills does a job require? What skills does a man offer? This should help business education visualize the training needed. Similarly, satisfactions can be simply classified, into

1. Tangible, like "money," "prestige," "liking for fellow workers," etc.
2. Intangible satisfactions, like "liking for quantity work," "liking for quality work," "for repetitive work," "for nonrepetitive work," "for rhythm," etc.

Technics of job analyses and of personality analyses are increasingly available. As they advance it should be possible to measure the effectiveness of business education more accurately. But the acceptance of the value of measurement is the first step in reaching an adequate solution of the problems in this field, as it is in all others.

READJUSTMENTS WHICH NEED EMPHASIS IN BUSINESS EDUCATION

JOY ELMER MORGAN

The Journal of the National Education Association

"I'm interested in skilled employees," said the personnel director of a large department store recently, "but I'm more interested in ideas, in suggestions as to how to supplement or improve our service. Yet not one person in a hundred who comes to my desk has any ideas."

Today almost every skilled occupation is overcrowded. This is likely to continue so. Three types of students will get ahead under these conditions: First, those who are exceptionally skilled, who are accurate typists, dependable stenographers, or resourceful file clerks. Second, those who are unusually attractive personally so that their mere presence is considered an asset. Third, those who have the inventive habit and who can take the initiative in developing new types of jobs, who can see things to do and work out new ways of doing them. Every executive knows that this trait is the hardest of all to find and yet it can in considerable measure be taught and learned.

Business education needs on the one hand to sharpen its training in the specific skills and personal qualities needed in today's world. On the other hand, it needs to carry along with the training in skills a broad understanding of society itself, what it is, and what, with greater foresight, it might become. These qualities of skills, personality, and inventive thinking cannot be separated. Herein lies the reason why vocational education cannot be separated from general education. They are two phases of one life in process of development and each must minister to the other. America has been brought to her present plight because the people in the various professions and vocations have been too narrowly trained as specialists—so narrowly trained that they could not see the broad social consequences of their acts in a democracy.

The school is maintained by society. It has no right to develop

any point of view nor to teach any skill in a way that would be to the disadvantage of society. To test the value of each subject taught in the business-education curriculum, we need to ask: first, does it help the individual to be a better human being? Second, what will be the effect of such teaching on the social order?

TEACHING THE SKILLS

The people who administer business education should be continuously critical of its curriculum. They should be critical first as to whether the curriculum is broad enough. Office work thirty or forty years ago consisted largely of handling books or correspondence. Today such clerical work as handling advertising, sales campaigns, market-and-credit analyses and collections, statistical and financial statements—these have become part of the functions of the modern office, all requiring detailed skills.

In the second place, they should ask themselves whether the skills that are now taught are sufficiently well taught to accomplish the ends desired? Can the stenographer do accurate work? Can the secretary do efficiently and happily the varied tasks which the office implies? Does the graduate know how to make an application for work? Above all, does the student understand the necessity for real dependability? Is he capable of estimating the quality of his own work as good or poor?

There is much talk today about interpreting the schools to the people. There is no point at which the school touches the leadership of America more directly and immediately than through the graduates of its business courses. These young people are going into our offices, professions, and industries. They are either competent or incompetent, skilled or unskilled, dependable in their personal habits or unreliable. If they have shortcomings, their employers rightly or wrongly will tend to charge these to the schools.

TEACHING PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

The importance of personality in today's world cannot be overestimated. Under conditions of modern life our destinies are more and more in the hands of other people. Their estimates of us must play a large part in our advance. Since personal attractiveness is so important a factor in such estimates, it should be made a substantial part of the course in business education. Each student might well be supplied with a self-rating scale in personality development. Let him ask himself: How do I score on such items as the following:

1. Do I have sufficient health and physical vigor to perform my duties satisfactorily? _____
2. Are my clothes clean, appropriate, and becoming? _____
3. Are my nails, teeth, and hair immaculately cared for? _____
4. Is my voice clear, pleasant, and well-modulated? _____
5. Do I have good posture in sitting, standing, walking? _____
6. Am I courteous and poised even when things go wrong? _____
7. Do I understand office amenities, such as courtesy and thoughtfulness to my fellow workers, tact in making telephone calls, and in meeting and introducing callers? _____
8. Have I personal peculiarities which are offensive to my fellow workers or employers? _____
9. Am I cheerful and pleasant, with a sense of humor? _____
10. Have I improved one working habit during the past month? _____
- Total score _____

Allow 10 for a perfect score under each item; less than perfect below 10 in proportion to achievement. Subheadings can be filled in under each of these 10 questions. For example, health springs from right habits of working, eating, sleeping, exercise, and cleanliness. Have I improved in each of these points during the past month? What plans have I for improvement in each next month?

TEACHING INVENTIVE THINKING

In organizing business education to develop the creative abilities of the student, the course of study itself must be flexible. It has been suggested that every secondary school devote at least 10 per cent of its time and resources to experimentation. (See

"The High School of Tomorrow," Editorial, *Journal* of the National Education Association, March 1932.) Let the teacher spend one class period out of ten trying new things. Let the student devote 10 per cent of his time to lines of study which he maps out for himself. Only thus can he learn how to plan his own study and growth. Employers almost universally prefer young men and women with inventive ability in many lines rather than those who are specialists in one.

A good place to begin would be to develop units of learning drawn from the apparent and pressing needs of today's life. Ultimately, instead of having three subjects per week for a year, such as bookkeeping, typewriting, and shorthand, we should have hundreds of specific units of learning which would be as flexible as life itself and which would be under constant revision. The teaching of current material in our business-education courses is today in the experimental stages. We shall have to devote ourselves increasingly in the next few years to the preparation of concrete teaching materials on social-economic problems.

The underlying purpose of such learning units would be to mobilize the inventive thinking of our young people in the improvement of American civilization. Instead of preparing the young men and women in our commercial departments for a narrow technical job, cannot we give them a vision of what America might become if we had the foresight and the determination to work at the problem? America is a great nation. The pioneer spirit is one of the strongest elements in its character. Its young people need not settle into routine bread-and-butter activities without realizing that there is a prospect of creating a better civilization for all.

As a beginning, let each class in business education study the report of the Social Economic Goals of America, prepared by a committee of the National Education Association. Let them study

these goals in relation to their own homes, their neighborhoods, and the industries and enterprises of their communities. Is there security or lack of it? Fair play or control by a few? Is there extreme poverty on the one hand and extreme riches on the other? What proportion of the people live in unsanitary and crowded quarters? How can the community provide better housing? How many people in the community are dependent on public relief?

The second step would be for each student to ask what he can do to improve conditions and to bring about the realization of the social-economic goals in community, State, Nation, and world. Let students discuss new fields for inventive thinking in which they can make a place for themselves. There is today no dearth of useful work to be done. The problem is to interpret needed services to the community. Libraries, schools, and churches are overcrowded by those who want their help. Adult education is held back for lack of workers to develop it. Half the population has no chance at the facilities which make leisure worth while.

These are fields in which money profits can never be large. The young people who devote their lives to them must think more of their own happiness and growth than of the money they can make. There are too many salesmen in the parasitic industries trying to make a living regardless of the effect on other human beings. There are too few people in the public services. Why cannot our courses in salesmanship arouse young people to organize such activities and to persuade the community to support them?

The field of housing, for example, has now become an important part of the American program of recovery and reconstruction. Shall we foist upon the coming generation a chaotic mass of poorly built houses, in unplanned neighborhoods, in poorly designed cities, at exorbitant prices and excessive interest rates?

Next to the choice of a mate or a vocation, the purchase of a house is one of the major decisions of a lifetime. Housing can and should be taught in our business-education curricula from the point of view of individual and social welfare.

Closely associated with the teaching of housing comes instruction in the business side of home life. Young people need information on how to plan a financial policy over a lifetime. This study might be divided into five- or ten-year periods and include a study of the major financial activities of those periods, such as education, establishing a home, and the like. The question of investments would include discussion of postal savings, United States Savings Bonds, insurance, and the like. As consumers, young people might well be encouraged to form a junior consumers council in the high school, giving time to the evaluation of advertising and high-pressure salesmanship.

Is there not need also of stressing in our secondary and higher institutions, wherever business education is taught, the business man's social and civic responsibility? Are we not turning out in our technical courses a group of workers who believe that they must go along with the boss, regardless of the rightness of what he stands for? Are not those who train our future business leaders in a better position than any one else to see that they are sufficiently grounded in broad principles of ethics, economics, sociology, and government, so that their business conduct will be influenced by these principles?

The senatorial investigations into the Stock Exchange and the investment bankers have brought to light a body of information which has deeply stirred the thinking of the American people. Any one by looking about him can now see the sweeping character of the "corporate revolution" which has taken place in American industry. The omnipresent corporate forms reach down into the smallest community and touch almost our every act. They control the foods and drugs we use, our facilities for transporta-

tion, the utilities that light and heat our homes, the chains of communication by which we receive our news and entertainment. For millions of our people they are the givers and takers of jobs and can determine where men shall live and whether or not they shall be employed at all.

Corporate forms in themselves are neither good nor bad. They are instruments which can be turned to one use or the other. Some have been notably dominated by the humane point of view. There is in all human nature an inherent desire for self-respect and for the approval of others. Public sentiment can in the end decide the purpose and character of the corporation if the young men and women in the schools are enlightened by facts.

Such public sentiment must include the election to public office of men and women of the highest integrity and intelligence regardless of party. It is probable that today approximately one person in two is dependent for his living or income at least in part upon the activities of government. Whether our democratic experiment can succeed will depend upon how well those activities are conducted. Of the 3,000,000 civil servants—in local, State, and National governments—2,500,000 are high-school graduates. As the level of education rises and as high schools and colleges organize special courses to prepare for government service, we may expect a new spirit of confidence in the conduct of public affairs.

We are entering a period when widely increased coöperation is necessary. This coöperation cannot be good unless the individuals are good in their own ideals and habits of life and work. The business leadership of America in the 1940's and '50's is in the high schools today. If there is proper emphasis on the economic and civic aspects of their training, the effects will be felt almost immediately and over the next twenty years might easily become a deciding factor in the success of our American democracy.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF BUSINESS EDUCATION TO GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY

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The principal characteristic and chief glory of American business has been the initiative and courage with which the development of a continent and the rapid progress of science have been turned to the service of great masses of people. The very speed of this development, however, is one of the critical problems of civilization. In any period of rapid progress vast maladjustments are inevitable. Notably since the first Interstate Commerce Act, social pressures resulting from such maladjustments and the necessity of reconciling and harmonizing the interests of diverse social groups to maintain equilibrium have brought continuously increasing intervention of government in business. Examples of such maladjustments may be found in the increasing amplitude of the ups and downs of the business cycle and in the unemployment situation. The effect of maladjustment in stimulating government intervention is seen in the long list of regulatory commissions and antitrust and similar laws and in the striking growth of public activity under two administrations in this depression. Such maladjustments and efforts to remedy them add continuously to the administrative problems involved in determining policy and action both in business and in government. The acceleration in the speed of social change brought about by scientific progress and business initiative is a heavy price to pay for material progress. Social routines and institutions are weakened dangerously. Administrative decisions are made which affect such routines and institutions without adequate apprehension of their importance in the stability of society. Constant improvement of administration both in business and in government is essential.

At the moment, change in the business area is dangerously slowed down and political change dangerously accelerated. The

failure of business to revive—the ominous slowness of recovery from depression—contributes to and stimulates an alarming rapidity of change in the political area. Per contra, rapid and uncertain political changes upset business confidence and paralyze initiative. Wherever responsibility lies—and the search for personal devils is a peculiarly futile occupation—business must recognize that its failure to start up, if much longer continued, will constitute a failure to carry its part of the burden of maintaining social stability. Our Government, also, should recognize that it is ill-prepared to deal with complex social questions. In many areas the spoils system still reigns; and where it does, our Civil Service is ill-suited for handling difficult new situations. Much of our present trouble results from the necessity of extemporizing organizations to administer government activities. The vicious circle of inactivity in business and overactivity in an ill-prepared government, with consequent failure of individual initiative and responsibility, complicates our present problems in the same manner that the vicious circle of deflation and liquidation has intensified the depression. The failure of either group, business or government, effectively to perform its own function accentuates the difficulties of the other group and induces action by each which intensifies the stresses and strains on the other. Sympathetic mutual understanding of these complexities too often is wholly lacking.

It is unfortunate that men cannot be prepared overnight for these positions in industry and government where the new problems appear overwhelming. Since such training cannot be supplied in a short time it is necessary that some definite program be prepared by the universities to supply this need.

UNDERSTANDING GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO
PRIVATE BUSINESS

In the training of men for these posts there are really two objectives, which, particularly in their later stages, become dis-

tinct. The first is to give the business man engaged in private business a better understanding of the Government with whose forces he comes into constant contact and with whose personnel he must spend much of his time. From it he receives his licenses, franchises, and charters to do business. To it he pays fees, taxes, and duties. By it he is regulated, whether in the high degree of a public utility or in the lesser degree of an ordinary business. To it he must resort for favorable legislation and favorable administrative orders. From it he must endure unfavorable legislation and unfavorable administrative orders. On its courts and similar machinery he must rely for protection. With it he must deal as buyer, seller, landlord, tenant, independent contractor, or employee. With it he must at times compete. On it he must depend constantly for information, services, standards, and the innumerable desiderata for engaging successfully in business in a complicated and rapidly changing world. To be an effective business man he must understand this Government and how to work with it; know something of its peculiar personnel and methods, its "rules of the game." If he wishes a studied consideration by the Government of the necessities of our industrial civilization as he sees them, he must work out some more effective method of presenting his point of view and cooperating in adjusting it to the public interest than is provided by the present extraconstitutional pressure groups.

TRAINED PERSONNEL FOR PUBLIC BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

The second objective is to aid the community by providing a trained personnel for public business and by determining as far as possible the best dividing lines in the public interest between government, or government regulation, and private business. Many government positions come nearer to the category of business executive work than to the work of legal or technological specialists. This is particularly true whenever the job involves

not merely the conduct of the ordinary affairs of government but the regulation or direct management of private business. The splendid example of the British Civil Service, which profits by university training adapted to its needs, lies before us.

The extent to which government regulates private business is understood by every business man who is affected by such regulation; but few, perhaps, realize how many corporations the Federal Government has itself organized or promoted to carry out business activities. In both these areas trained men are needed.

In addition, there is a need for properly trained men in the positions in government where a knowledge of business is useful, but not essential. Training for such jobs in the consular service and other diplomatic posts, elective positions and legal positions is best accomplished, however, by the departments of law and government in the various universities rather than by the department of business administration.

In attempting to provide, by university training, the necessary background for those men entering both business and government, it is necessary to go beyond the mere enumeration of factors affecting the relationship between industry and government. Since men in administrative positions are constantly confronted with situations and questions which involve or may involve both policy and action, it is necessary to plan the training of these men in such a manner that they will accumulate a broad background of information by analyzing and considering the actual problems which they will meet after they have been graduated. The minds of these men, however, must not be turned into a lumberyard of useless information; it is essential that they be trained in the evaluation of various factors as they affect a specific problem. The development of a flexible mind, capable of adapting itself to ever-changing situations, should be the primary purpose of an institution training men for the responsibilities of these positions in government and industry.

Mere mental calisthenics will not serve to train these men properly, for there must of necessity be specialized courses in particular functions of the Government, such as regulatory activities, or in Federal finance and taxation. A proper balance can be struck, however, between the concentration in a particular field and the broader background required for all students interested in the relationships between industry and government. It is just as important to prevent overspecialization as it is to avoid overgeneralization. It must be remembered that there are still certain difficulties in securing positions in some branches of the Government, and it would be unwise to train men for specific positions which may not be available to them. Whether permanent careers in public administration become available or not, broad training which precludes overspecialization will fit the student of public administration to be useful alike in public service or in private business.

PROGRAM AT HARVARD BUSINESS SCHOOL

The program of study for this field at the Harvard Business School requires a majority of the courses to be taken in the field of business administration. In the first half of the first year a student takes the regular required courses in accounting, finance, industrial management, marketing, and statistics. One section of each of these classes is especially designed for men electing the program in public business administration and pays considerable attention to problems where government regulation or control becomes a factor in the special field considered. The point of view, however, will remain that of private business. As an elective in the second semester, a course in public aspects of private business is offered. In this course the points of contact between business and government and the problems arising at these points will be considered from the point of view of a particular business concern.

In the second year a student takes not more than two courses in public business administration, two electives, and one required course in business policy which coördinates the work of the first year and develops the theory of policy determination for private business. The courses given in public business administration include: Industry and Government in the United States, attempting to appraise recent governmental developments; Introduction to Public Aspects of Business; Federal Finance and Taxation; Monetary Policies and Problems; Public Regulation; Agricultural Industries; Problems of Economic Balance; Statistics of Economic Planning; and International Commercial Relations. In addition, research in any particular field of interest may be undertaken under the guidance of some member of the faculty.

A man with such training should be able to make his contribution, either in industry or in government, to the intelligent solution of the many bewildering problems facing us today. In time, more stable industrial and governmental relationships should evolve if these men are trained in adequate numbers. This would be valuable to the nation at large, and a better understanding between government and business would be forthcoming if mutual suspicions were swept away. To provide such men to the Nation is the challenge to educational leaders. Universities can make a great contribution by developing their facilities and offering courses to encourage young men to plan their careers in this field. The future will indeed be brighter if we can forecast that trained young men will not only be available but anxious to go into government service, and that their contemporaries will have a sympathetic understanding of the problems of government and its relation to their own business activities.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRAINED SOCIOLOGISTS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

F. STUART CHAPIN
American Sociological Society

The Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel was appointed by the Social Science Research Council in December 1933 as an outgrowth of certain recommendations made by the Presidential Research Committee on Recent Social Trends. The Commission was assigned the task of inquiring into the status of public service and government employment.

It was found that there are about 175,000 independent units of government in the United States and that they employ approximately 3,250,000 public servants. But it was found also that public service has been unable to attract in general as capable men and women as private employment.

In its recently published summary of findings, *Better Government Personnel*,¹ the Commission comes out squarely for the recommendation that the "day-to-day administrative work of government be definitely made a career service." This very frank recommendation should be of much interest to sociologists who have been thinking in terms of professional outlets for competent men and women with graduate training in sociology. Heretofore, the sociologists who have entered public service have done so single-handed and on their own, more or less like pioneers out in front of the main body which has hugged the traditional academic cloisters. With the Federal Government attempting to come to grips with the problems of the Nation, many competent persons of sociological training have been called into the public service.

The commission also recommends that "the career service system" should be extended to local as well as to State and Federal

¹ New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935.

Government units by the enactment of proper laws and ordinances, and by the extension of existing civil-service systems.

What technical service can sociologists render, and what functions can they perform in government work which would make increasing room for trained specialists? What should their training and field experience be and how should courses in departments of sociology be reshaped to prepare and qualify persons for professional public service?

How can sociologists assist the Commission in carrying its recommendations into action? What practical suggestions can they make at this point of procedure? That we have a live interest in this general problem is certainly attested by the fact that the program of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1934 and the one for 1935 bear right on the point, and also by the fact that the Society has created a special Committee on Opportunities for Trained Sociologists.

The Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel has asked all professional organizations to render aid and give it the benefit of their serious thought and attention.

It occurs to me that it would be very helpful if sociologists as individuals, as members of departments, or as students in graduate training could devote some time to the consideration of the Commission's findings and recommendations and forward their reactions and suggestions to Dr. Walter C. Reckless, chairman of the Society's Committee on Opportunities for Trained Sociologists, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. He will undertake to compile and analyze these suggestions and expressions of opinion and transmit them to the commission. If the published report, *Better Government Personnel*, is not readily available for reference and study, a letter to Dr. Luther Gulick, Secretary of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, 302 East 35th Street, New York City, will bring a mimeo-

graphed copy of the recommendations made by the Commission as a result of its investigations.

It would be most helpful if the members of departments of sociology would have special call meetings to express opinions and voice suggestions, the gist of which would be transmitted to the chairman of the Committee on Opportunities for Trained Sociologists. It would be helpful also if graduate students at centers of sociological study could get together in special meetings to discuss the recommendations of the Commission in view of the questions raised above, and undertake to send the summarized minutes of these meetings to Dr. Reckless.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Teaching and Learning, by G. A. YOAKAM AND R. G. SIMPSON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, 498 pages.

The book is well written and presents sound techniques. Its organization is superior to many predecessors. A succinct statement of fundamental principles of teaching and learning is followed by separate treatments of activities and techniques of teaching, techniques and activities of learning, the media of teaching and learning, and, finally, a genuinely encouraging treatment of "teaching and learning by wholes," which presents the point of view of the progressive group, particularly as it pertains to the activity movement, with the authors taking a midway position. If the authors are representative of the subject-matter-set-out-to-be-learned group, the ice is being broken.

The Transitional Public School, by CYRUS D. MEAD AND FRED W. ORTH. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, xxii + 371 pages.

One cannot read this volume without genuine appreciation for the sane analysis of the theories underlying "subjects" and "activities." The profusion of concrete illustrations drawn from the programs of selected public elementary schools demonstrates conclusively that "the experiential and the curricular are not antipathetic or antagonistic." The transitional school so ably pictured in these pages clearly points the way for the immediate future of a sound progressivism in elementary education.

National Society for the Study of Education, *Thirty-third Yearbook, Part II, The Activity Movement*, 1934, xi + 320 pages.

In this volume we have a comprehensive definition, statements, and analyses of various points of view, controversial issues, and statements of agreement, which bring to focus the fundamental issues involved. A descriptive statement interpreting the principle of activity as applied to schoolwork and constructive observations on the problem of evaluating the learning product, with the above, give us the best thought of the profession on the possibilities and limitations of the activity movement as an educational medium.

School Publicity, by BELMONT FARLEY. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1934, 118 pages.

Dr. Farley has given us a practical handbook of suggestions for effective interpretation of the school. After presenting a sound philosophy of educational interpretation, which calls for a sympathetic statement of objectives and appraisal of results, the author outlines the administrative machinery and the avenues of publicity both within the school and directly to the public. Unique emphasis is placed on the value of interpreting the school and the program to the pupils—tomorrow's citizens and taxpayers. Equally commendable and to the point is the final chapter which assembles the best of guiding principles that will aid the school publicist in the analysis of his community audiences, the preparation of his material, and the selection of the content of his publicity program.

High School Administration and Supervision, by PHILIP W. L. COX AND R. EMERSON LANGFITT. New York: American Book Company, 1934, 675 pages.

The authors of this text of 675 pages have given us an admirable handbook of practical information dealing with the problems of high-school organization and management. The questions it raises are such as pertain to the everyday work of the secondary-school principal, and the suggested answers are the result of many experiments and of the authors' wide and rich experience. A text of this character put into the hands of an inexperienced principal will save him from many mistakes, and, to the seasoned administrator, the thoroughly modern point of view of the book will give encouragement and confirmation.

Education on the Air, Fifth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio, edited by JOSEPHINE H. MACLATCHY. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1934, 336 pages.

This 1934 Yearbook surpasses its predecessors in one important respect. It gives merited emphasis to the place of radio in our national social pattern. This is not to deny the importance of broadcast research regarding which there are several reports. It is not to say that radio programs for schools have no significance. It is to say that the interrelationships among radio, as an educational medium, and other media are important to a comprehensive view of national facilities. Radio in relation to government, the home,

schools, newspapers, magazines, books, motion pictures, the library, museums, industry, and commerce is given due consideration.

The Family, Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry, by JOSEPH KIRK FOLSOM. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1934, 604 pages.

Written as a college text, this volume should also be of interest to social workers and those in the field of adult education. Its six parts deal with the family pattern, the cultural history and geography of the family, social change and the family, family problems and mass readjustments, family problems and individual readjustments, and the cultural future of the family. The approach is more sociological than psychiatric. One of the Wiley Social Science Series, under the editorship of Henry Pratt Fairchild.

A Study of the Problems of 652 Gainfully Employed Married Women Homemakers, by CECILE TIPTON LA FOLLETTE. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1934, 208 pages.

This study should prove of professional interest to the social worker, home economist, and employer. It will be of vital interest, as well, to the gainfully employed married woman homemaker and to the woman contemplating marriage and wage earning. The chapters dealing with the management of the household and family relationship are of particular significance. The book should interest sociologists for its picture of the effect of social change upon the family pattern.

The Illegitimate Family in New York City, by RUTH REED. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, 385 pages.

A study of the problem of the illegitimate family in New York City, and of the correlated programs of various types of social agency to meet the problems it presents. This volume will prove significant to those engaged in all aspects of social work, but particularly to those concerned with child care. It should prove as significant to those engaged in social welfare work in other American cities as to those who are working in this field in New York City itself.

The Family, by M. F. NIMKOFF. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, 526 pages.

A college text dealing with the American pattern of family life—its history, present function in relationship to our other social institutions and personal happiness, and future. Subjects covered are the structure and functions of the family, origin and development of the family, backgrounds and pattern of the modern American family, biological, economic, and social aspects of the family, the marriage relationship and the child in the family, family disorganization and reorganization. Preface by William F. Ogburn.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Aspects of Post-Collegiate Education*, by RALPH A. BEALS. New York: American Association for Adult Education.
- Chicago College Plan*, by CHAUNCEY SAMUEL BOUCHER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Common Sense for Mothers*, by MRS. JOHN S. REILLY. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company.
- Crippled and Disabled*, by HENRY H. KEMLER. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Critical Introduction to Ethics*, by PHILLIP WHEELWRIGHT. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company.
- Growth and Development of the Young Child*, by WINIFRED RAND, MARY E. SWEENEY, AND E. LEE VINCENT. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company.
- Handbook for Field Work Students (Family Welfare)*, edited by MARGARET COCHRAN BRISTOL AND CATHERINE DUNN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Handedness, Right and Left*, by IRA S. WILK. Boston: Lathrop, Lee and Shepard Company.
- Infantile Paralysis*, by GEORGE DRAPER. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.
- Meaning and Varieties of Love*, by J. W. BRIDGES. Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers.
- Meaning of Marx*, edited by SIDNEY HOOK. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.
- Modern Motherhood*, by CLAUDE EDWIN HEATON. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.
- Moscow Carrousel*, by EUGENE LYONS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

- National Music*, by RALPH VAUGHAN WILLIAMS. New York: Oxford University Press.
- National Probation Association Yearbook 1934*. New York: National Probation Association.
- On Writing the Diary of a Modest Man*, by ROLLO WALTER BROWN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Public School Education of Second-Generation Japanese in California*, by REGINALD BELL. Stanford University: Stanford University Press.
- Social Ideas of American Educators*, by MERLE CURTI. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Social Settlements in New York City*, by ALFRED J. KENNEDY AND KATHRYN FARRA. New York: Columbia University Press.
- State in Theory and Practice*, by HAROLD J. LASKI. New York: Viking Press.
- Ten Years of Adult Education*, by MORSE ADAMS CARTWRIGHT. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Tuberculosis*, by FRED G. HOLMES. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.

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